

THE MEDIEVAL CITY
OF RHODES
AND THE PALACE
OF THE GRAND MASTER

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ISBN 960-214-912-4

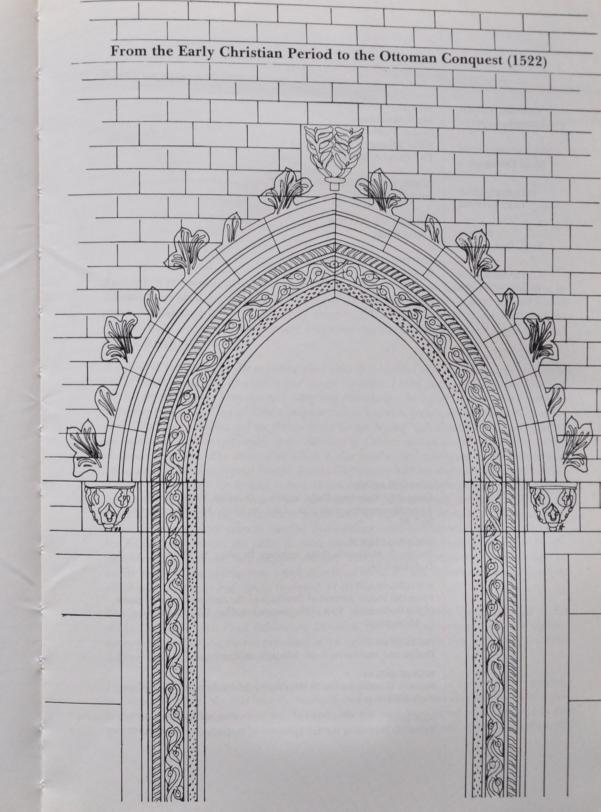
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MINISTRY OF CULTURE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECEIPTS FUND

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THE MEDIEVAL CITY OF RHODES AND THE PALACE OF THE GRAND MASTER

3rd EDITION



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From the Italian Archive of Drawings of the Archaeological Institute of the Dodecanese. Plan of the excavation (Plan III): M. Sarikou, G. Thomadaki.

PAGES 38-40

Design and execution: A.-M. Kasdagli, archaeologist.

From A. Gabriel, La cité de Rhodes. Architecture civile et religieuse, Paris 1923.

From the archive of the 4th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.

FOREWORD

In 1988, a few months before the Summit Meeting of the EEC in the Grand Master's Palace in Rhodes, I was asked by the then political head of the Ministry of Culture to write a small booklet about the Palace to be distributed to the delegates of the member states of the EEC and the journalists. In the end the booklet became a book and much larger in content and length than had originally been commissioned.

It seemed to me hardly possible to present the Palace of the Grand Master without reference to the rest of the medieval city, of which it was always the heart. I must also confess that the idea had crossed my mind many years ago of writing and publishing a book that would give a condensed picture of the medieval city of Rhodes complete with its historical background. Thus the form of the book "The City of Rhodes and the Palace of the Grand Master" was dictated on the one hand by the intentions of those responsible at the Ministry of Culture and on the other by my own long cherished ambitions. The venture, in which I also involved my colleagues in the Publications Direction of the Archaeological Receipts Fund (TAP), was a bold one and not without its hazards. Time was very short for writing a book that would be both a scholarly work and a worthy publication, particularly in view of the fact that I was fully occupied, twelve hours a day, in renovating and equipping the palace in preparation for the Summit Meeting. It seemed at times as though the text would never be finished. In the Palace, when we removed the plaster with which the Italians had covered the walls, or made small exploratory soundings in the floors for the requirements of the work, new evidence emerged. This frequently contradicted the conclusions of earlier scholars, and also my own, which were based on all the new evidence, evidence, however, which was continually and rapidly changing.

The manuscript was finally delivered, at which point Mrs Evangelia Kypraiou, head of the Archaeological Receipts Fund Publications Direction, and her colleagues were confronted with the daunting task of having the text translated into English and printed on time. I must say that their achievement of this was a feat in itself.

I should point out that the book published here is not exactly the same as the one which appeared in English in 1988. Not only have the omissions and errors which were inevitable at the time due to the urgent deadline been corrected, but also some ten years have passed since then, and in the meantime much has changed. Excavations have uncovered new evidence, especially for the early fortifications of the medieval city, and many new studies on its archaeology and history have appeared. The picture today, of the medieval city therefore, is not the same as that in 1988, and it is this new picture that I have tried to impart here.

I must stress in particular the great contribution to this new edition of the personnel in the Archaeological Receipts Fund Publications Direction, and my warmest thanks go to Mrs Evangelia Kypraiou, Diana Zafiropoulou and Roula Giannoulaki. I also heartily thank my colleagues and friends, Mrs Maria Sigala, Angeliki Katsioti, Loukia Orfanou, Anna Nika and Anna-Maria Kasdagli and Mr Theodoros Archontopoulos, who gave me the pleasure of discovering the Early Byzantine fortifications of Rhodes, and particularly all those who, together with the technicians of the 4th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, made such great efforts to fix up and restore the Palace of the Grand Master in 1988. My friend the architect Mrs Katerina Manousou-Della had charge of the architectural work in the Palace in 1988 and was responsible for all the plans in this book. The accurate insertion of the monuments and especially the Early Byzantine enceinte in the two maps of the medieval city are due to her. I thank her with all my heart for her help. I am also very grateful to the draughtspersons, Mrs Georgia Thomadaki-Gikopoulou, Maria Sarikou and Magda Maria and Mr Dimitris Nikoloulias for their meticulous work. Lastly, I must thank my friend Mr Zacharias Tsirpanlis, Professor of Medieval and Modern History, for the pains he took to read my manuscript and for his many invaluable comments.

I would also like to express my appreciation to the Executive Board of the Archaeological Receipts Fund who approved the publication of this book.

ELIAS E. KOLLIAS

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1. The medieval city at the beginning of the 16th c., after A. Gabriel.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

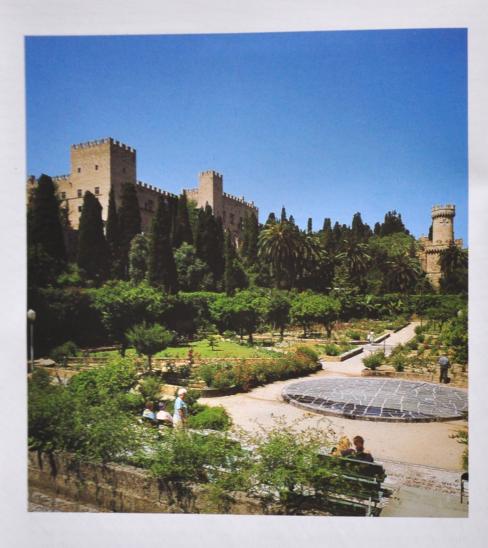
Rhodes in the Hellenistic period possessed one of the most beautiful and best organised cities in the then known world. It was traversed by straight streets after the Hippodamian or "gridiron" system; temples, gymnasia and other fine public and private buildings adorned it, and strong fortifications protected it. Its ships ploughed the Mediterranean Sea and the maritime and commercial activities of its citizens brought it wealth. The Rhodians pursued a flexible foreign policy, always with an eye to their own best interests, and succeeded in maintaining their power and wealth intact throughout the wars between Rome, the kings of the Hellenistic states, the Carthaginians, Mithridates and others.

The Roman civil war put the Rhodians in the difficult position of having to choose which of the adversaries to support. In the end one of them, Cassius, captured Rhodes in 42 BC and stripped it of its treasures, its fleet and the works of art that adorned it. Under the Roman Empire Rhodes preserved a certain shadowy freedom, but it lost even this when emperors hostile to the city, like Tiberius, occupied the throne. Finally in AD 297 Diocletian incorporated Rhodes in the province of the

Islands, thus also formally terminating its free status¹.

In the Early Christian period Rhodes was the capital2 of the Province of the Islands and played a leading role in the Aegean. The strategic importance of the island increased with the appearance of the Arab powers in the Mediterranean. From the 7th to the 9th c. Rhodes was at the centre of the struggle for supremacy between the two opposed worlds of Byzantium and the Arabs. It was repeatedly raided by the latter3, whose constant purpose was to establish a permanent military presence4 on the island and use the harbour as a base from which to conquer the cities of Asia Minor and Constantinople itself. During this period the Byzantine fleet made frequent naval forays out of Rhodes against Arab-occupied North Africa⁵.

In 1082 the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus granted the Venetians permission to establish a trading station⁶ in Rhodes. In 1191 Richard the Lionheart and Philip II Augustus of France stopped off at the island⁷ for a short time and recruited mercenaries for their crusade.



2. Northeast view of the Grand Master's Palace.

The capture of Constantinople in 1204 created a new political situation. When the Byzantine Empire was carved up by the conquerors, Rhodes was assigned to the Venetians, who never took possession of it because the Imperial governor of the Dodecanese, Leo Gavalas8, proclaimed himself ruler of the island. For some years he remained independent, but was later forced to accept the overlordship of the Emperor of Nicaea. He never, however, missed an opportunity to try to break free, even on occasion allying himself with Franks. After his death in 1240, his brother and heir, John Gavalas stayed loyal to the Emperor and repeatedly fought beside him against the Latins. While he was away on one of these expeditions, the Genoese seized the undefended Kastro of Rhodes and held it for a short time (1248). After John's death, Byzantine imperial control of Rhodes and the Dodecanese in general seems to have continued. This is indicated by the presence in the years 1254 and 1263 in the region of registrars9, imperial officials who registered landed property in Rhodes and the other Dodecanese islands. In 1261 the emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus entrusted Rhodes to his brother John¹⁰, but took it away from him in 1275. From then on, the island was given as a fief to different Genoese corsairs and adventurers11, until one of them, Vignolo di Vignoli, ceded it to the Knights¹² of St John of Jerusalem.

The Knights of St John (named after their patron saint, John the Baptist) or Knights Hospitaller, had a history of over two centuries behind them when they occupied Rhodes and extended their sway over virtually all the Dodecanese. It is, however, hard to say exactly when their religious military order was founded, because its beginning is shrouded in legend and historical sources are vague on the subject.

With due reservations, therefore, and bearing in mind that future research may well uncover new evidence, we would date the first traces of a Christian philanthropic foundation to about the middle of the 11th c. in Jerusalem¹³.

Merchants from Amalfi obtained the Caliph's permission to build the Church of Santa Maria Latina close to the Church of the Resurrection and a hostel to lodge and care for Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land. The hospice was staffed by Benedictine monks.

It seems that until the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th c., before the First Crusade and the capture of Jerusalem by the Western Europeans, the first Frankish hospice had no connection with the order of the Frères Hospitaliers, as the Knights were otherwise known.

At the beginning of the 12th c. the enigmatic figure of Pierre Gérard or Gérard Tenque appeared in Jerusalem. His person is surrounded by myth and we know nothing of his homeland, family or childhood, but all the known evidence points to the probability that he was the Gérard who founded the Order of the Hospital. The hospice of the Amalfitans was only a precursor 14. J. Delaville Le Roulx 15 believes that in Gérard's time the Knights were simply hospitallers and did not as yet possess any military organisation.

In 1120/21 Raymond du Puy¹6 succeeded Gérard, who had died in the meantime, and took the title of magister. The Order was now organised on a military basis in accordance with Western European feudal principles, but without renouncing its original philanthropic role, at least outwardly. Through donations it acquired huge estates in both West and East.

After the beginning of the 12th c. the Knights of St John together with the Templars became the most important representatives of the Christian faith, and with the sword combatted the rival Muslim faith from within its own stronghold, in the East. This also explains the fervour with which feudal Europe supported them morally and financially. They always remained the spearhead, fighting originally for Western expansionism, to establish Western power in the East, and later defending the West from destruction at the hands of the Muslims. They acquired military garrisons in Syria and Palestine. including Jerusalem, Caesarea, Capernaum, Jericho, Ascalon, Margab and Krak.

The Western Europeans succeeded in remaining in the Middle East for no more than two centuries. In the face of renewed Arab aggression they lost their urban centres and fortresses one after the other. The Knights of St John took part in their defense and, faithful to their mission, were the last to retreat. The final fall of Jerusalem and Ascalon in 1247 was followed by the capture of the famous Krak des Chevaliers in Syria in 1271 and of Margab in 1281. The last of the Frankish fortresses to hold out was Acre in Palestine, only to fall to the Arabs in 129117. The Knights of St John, decimated and with the Grand Master Jean de Villiers gravely wounded, retired to Cyprus and established themselves in the region of Limassol18.

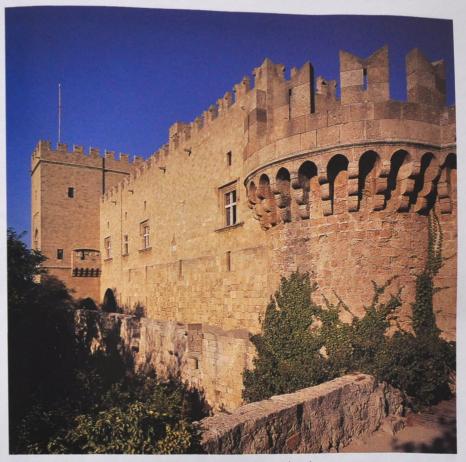
On Cyprus they felt themselves under some constraint. As the subjects of the Frankish king they were unable to act freely. The opportunity to find new head-quarters suitable for their purpose presented itself in 1306, when the Grand Master Foulques de Villaret entered into negotiations with Vignolo di Vignoli, who possessed fiefs in the Dodecanese. The agreement reached by the two of them

called for the conquest of Rhodes: Vignolo di Vignoli was to have one third of the island, all of Leros and two thirds of Kos.

Foulques de Villaret, having obtained the support of Philip the Fair of France, the King of England, the Pope, Charles II of Naples and the Genoese, disembarked in Rhodes and took two of the island's key fortresses, Pharaklos and Philerimos. The conquest of the island was achieved with the capture of the city in 1309. The rest of the islands of the Dodecanese fell one by one to the Knights¹⁹. Thenceforth, until their departure from the Dodecanese, they took the name "Knights of Rhodes". Three of the Dodecanese, however, remained outside their dominion: Karpathos and Kasos, which were held by the Cornari, feudal lords of Venice, and Astypalaia, which was under the authority of the Quirini of the Duchy of Naxos. To these must be added Patmos, which enjoyed an exceptional degree of autonomy.

Meanwhile, with the dissolution of the Templars in 1311, the Knights of St John became even more powerful, acquiring much of the huge property of their old fellow Order²⁰.

The first decade after the conquest of Rhodes was a troubled time. To the difficulties of the Knights in adapting to the local Greek element were added the assaults of the Turks, who immediately perceived the danger of having these soldier monks on their doorstep; but in spite of their efforts, the Turks failed to take the island. In 1317 the Order was shaken to its roots by a rebellion of the Knights against Grand Master Foulques de Villaret. His sybaritic lifestyle and autocratic ways scandalised the members of the Order. Maurice de Pagnac was proclaimed Grand Master and an attempt was made to arrest Villaret, who managed to escape

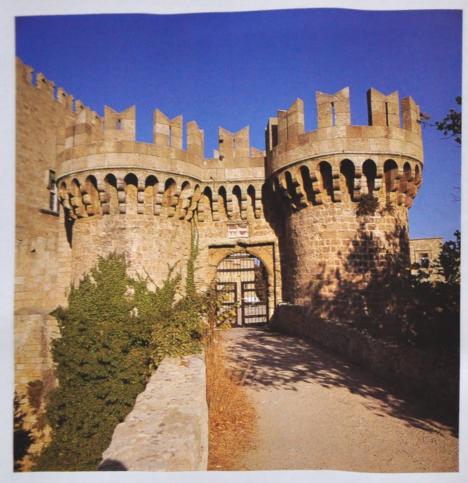


3. West wall of the Grand Master's Palace.

and take refuge in the Castle of Lindos²¹. The conflict was brought to an end by the intervention of the Pope with the resignation of both Grand Masters, and in 1319 Helion de Villeneuve took over the office.

The third decade for the 14th c. was a period of reorganisation for the Order and reestablishment of discipline, which had been undermined by the events of 1317-1319. The decisions of the Chapter General (Capitulum Generale) of 1330, which convened at Montpellier, consolidated the work of H. de Villeneuve for the restoration of order.

The Knights, now politically and militarily powerful, pursued more or less the same goals as the other powers which were active



4. Cannon Gate.

in the Eastern Mediterranean²², namely to weaken the forces of Islam, create new bridgeheads in Asia Minor and the Middle East and dominate the East-West trade routes. To achieve these ends, in 1334 they formed an alliance with the Holy See, France, Venice and Cyprus. In 1344 the allied fleet captured Smyrna²³, an impor-

tant strategic centre. Three years later, in 1347, the allied fleet defeated the Turkish fleet off Imbros²⁴.

At this time the Christian kingdom of Armenia was in danger from the Sultan of Egypt. The Knights hastened to its defense and succeeded in expelling the enemy. Ottoman sultans Murad and Orkhan made military advances, capturing Greek territory and threatening to overwhelm Byzantium. The West panicked and, apparently as a result of this, Pope Innocent IV put pressure, which in the end was unsuccessful, on Grand Master Pierre de Corneillan (1353-1355) to transfer the seat of the Order to Smyrna and to mount diversionary military operations in Asia Minor²⁵. In 1365, in alliance with the Venetians and Cyprus, the Knights took Alexandria26 in a surprise attack, destroyed the Egyptian fleet, set fire to the city and departed. In 1367 the Knights repeated the manoeuvre, striking at the naval bases of Alexandria, Laodicaea, Tortosa and Tripoli²⁷.

The fierce struggle between European and Muslim in the Eastern Mediterranean continued throughout the second half of the 14th c. The Knights took part in most of the military enterprises. In the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, in which Murad annihilated the flower of a multinational army of French, Germans and Hungarians, the commander of the Knights was Philibert de Naillac, who just managed to escape with his life (he was soon afterwards proclaimed Grand Master).

In 1402 Smyrna finally fell to Tamerlane after bloody battles and a hard siege²⁸. The Knights built a castle close to ancient Halicarnassus dedicated to St Peter, called Petronio or Petroumi²⁹, modern Bodrum, and with this castle on the mainland and the one on Kos they were able to control the straits between.

Shortly before the fall of Smyrna and the construction of Petroumi, an opportunity presented itself for the Knights to purchase the estates of the Despot of the Morea. They hoped that by gaining possession of the Peloponnese and establishing a strong state there they and the Western powers would be able to stem the Ottoman advance in Greece. Negotiations were opened in 1399 between the Despot of the Morea, Theodore, and the Knights, but in the end the plan was never realised because, apart from other reasons, the Greek popular leaders and the people themselves opposed – and indeed violently on occasion – any notion of the Peloponnese being annexed to the state of the Knights of Rhodes. The negotiations were terminated in 1404 and any further moves in that direction were abandoned³⁰.

In the first half of the 15th c., with the Byzantine Empire sinking fast, Rhodes was the object of frequent Muslim attacks, while vain attempts were being made to unite all Christian forces against the Ottomans. The enemy was testing the island's strength, studying Hospitaller tactics and making preparations for the final blow. Egypt also wished to rid itself of the Knights, who were plundering her ships and hampering her commercial development. In 1440 an Egyptian fleet captured Kastellorizo and laid siege to Rhodes and Kos31. In the end the threat was repulsed. Another assault followed in 1444, but in 1445 a peace agreement with an exchange of prisoners was signed with Egypt³².

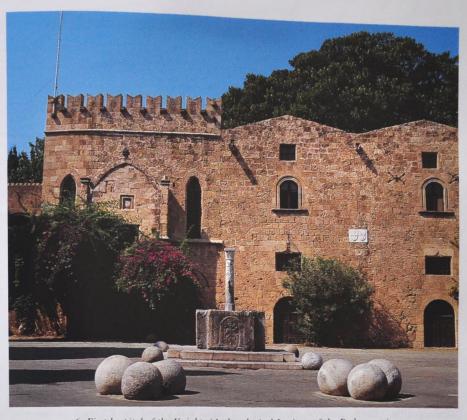
With the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, the enemy was virtually "before the gates". The period of anxiety commenced. It manifested itself in the efforts of the Grand Masters to fortify the city and harbour as strongly as they could, to strengthen the castles on the rest of the island and on the other islands in their domain and to procure supplies of provisions and weapons. In a series of decrees they laid down the general plan of defense for the city and villages. In 1474



5. South façade of the Grand Master's Palace.

Orsini, and in 1479 P. d'Aubusson, designated the castles in which the inhabitants of the villages were to take refuge in the event of an enemy attack³³; in 1465 Zacosta assigned to the different Tongues the defensive stations on the city wall they were to hold when the enemy invested the town³⁴.

After the Councils of Ferrara and Florence the Knights attempted to foster a closer rapprochement with the local Greek population. Their last endeavour in this direction was the signing of an agreement in 1474 between the Latin Archbishop, Giuliano Ubaldini, and the Orthodox Metropolitan bishop, Metrophanes. While waiting for the great assault to come, they did what they could to gain time. In 1455 they sent a representative to Adrianople to discuss a peace treaty with Mehmet II the Conqueror, who, however, demanded



6. First hospital of the Knights (Archaeological Institute of the Dodecanese).

2,000 ducats in tribute³⁵. After the Knights refused, the Ottomans besieged the fortesses of Kos in 1456. Next, in 1457, they carried out a surprise attack on Archangelos, a village in the eastern part of the island, looted it and carried off most of the inhabitants. In 1460, the Symiotes fended off an Ottoman attack. Tilos, Nisyros, Leros and Kalymnos were also raided. The Grand Master brought the inhabitants of the small islands to Rhodes

for safety and in order to strengthen the defense of Rhodes by gathering all the fighting units there.

A new move for peace between the Ottomans and the Knights was made in the reign of Grand Master R. Zacosta to make peace; the attempt was halted while still at an exploratory stage because the Ottomans again demanded tribute from the Knights, who rejected this condition as

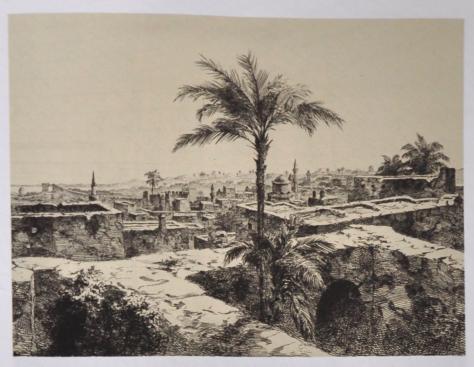


7. View of the medieval city from the north (engraving: E. Flandin).

unacceptable. Both powers therefore continued their preparations for the great conflict, especially after the fall of Mytilene in 1462. The Knights found themselves in dire straits for lack of funds. The countryside of Rhodes and the rest of the islands, ravaged by the continuous raids, had very little to contribute in the way of agricultural produce, livestock or money. They were in need of weapons, ammunition, food and materials to repair and further strengthen the defenses of the city and the castles in Rhodes and the other islands. Money was required for all these things. Although in 1462 the Order imposed an added 2% tax on all merchandise imported into the harbour of Rhodes - known as the chain tax56 because it had to be paid before ships were allowed to pass through the

chain that closed the harbour entrance –, the Knights were nevertheless unable to meet the expenses. Zacosta put great pressure on the European branches of the Order to send money and men. In 1470 Euboea fell to the Ottomans. Their next target would have been Rhodes, had Sultan Mehmet not been delayed by military enterprises in Dalmatia and Persia, where in fact the Shah asked for and received help from the Hospitallers.

The Knights continued their preparations at an undiminished pace. Grand Master G.B. degli Orsini, obsessed by the impending Ottoman attack, so as not to be caught unprepared in the smallest particular, behaved constantly as though the enemy were already at the gates. He assigned the

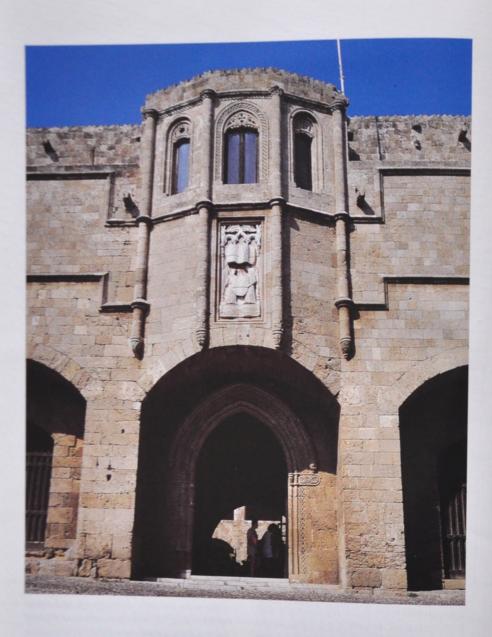


8. View of the medieval city from the Grand Master's Palace (engraving: A. Berg).

Knights who were to defend Fort St Nicholas and the tower on the Mole of the Windmills. He ordered the Knights of each Tongue to widen and deepen their section of the moat at their own expense. The general supervision of the fortification works was in the hands of Pierre d'Aubusson³⁷, who had some knowledge of engineering. Preparations continued with even greater intensity under Grand Master P. d'Aubusson. As well as attending to the fortifications and supplies, and reinforcing the defense with trained soldiers brought from Western Europe, he engaged in diplomatic negotiations with the sultans of Egypt and Tunisia with a view to protecting his rear. In 1477 he concluded a trade agreement with the first³⁸, and in 1478 with the second³⁹.

In 1478 Sophianos came as special envoy of Prince Djem, governor of the Ottoman province opposite Rhodes, with proposals for an agreement⁴⁰. Neither of the opposing sides actually believed in a peaceful settlement of their differences and were only looking for time in which to complete their preparations.

At last the moment arrived. On the 23rd of May 1480 a fleet of some 170 ships landed an Ottoman army of around 100,000



9. East view of the Great Hospital of the Knights (Archaeological Museum).

men in the Bay of Trianda on the northwest coast of the island a short distance from the city. The Ottoman troops were led by Grand Vizier and Admiral Mesikh Pasha Palaeologus⁴¹. Meanwhile, on the orders⁴² of the Grand Master, the peasantry shut themselves up in the strong fortresses of Lindos, Pharaklos, Monolithos, Niokastro (Kastellos) and Kattavia, and the inhabitants of the small islands of Nisyros, Chalki and Tilos took refuge in the Fortress of Rhodes.

The strategy of Mesikh and his general staff, as it emerged in the course of the siege, was first to blockade the city from the sea, the route by which the defenders expected supplies and assistance to come, and then to capture the fortress by storming the weak sea wall.

The key to the defense of both harbours was Fort St Nicholas. It was built in 1464-1467 on the end of the mole of that name, which projected some 500 metres northwards outside the main fortifications and commanded both the Commercial Harbour and the Mandraki as well as the entrance to the Bay of Acandia. It was also the most important defensive structure on the north side of the city facing the sea. The first task of the Ottomans, therefore, was to capture the Fort (fig. 85). On the 9th of June, following a heavy artillery bombardment, the infantry attacked in successive waves. Grand Master d'Aubusson himself rushed to the aid of the garrison in the tower, and after a furious battle the enemy was repulsed.

The Ottomans then mounted another large attack, also on the seaward side of the city. The eastern stretch of the wall facing the Bay of Acandia, where the Jewish quarter lay, and which was defended by the Tongue of Italy, was weak. Concentrated cannon fire by the Turkish artillery opened

a large breach in the Italian section. The Knights, aided by the people, dug a new inner moat, erected a new defensive wall and awaited the onslaught. While the Italian position was being bombarded, the Ottomans made a second assault on Fort St Nicholas. The Knights counterattacked boldly and decisively, and after a bloody melee, during which, according to contemporary accounts, the sea was reddened with the blood of the slain, the danger was again repulsed.

The last act of the drama was played out in the Jewish quarter of the city. At dawn on the 27th of July the Ottomans began the attack, and the vanguard of some 2,500 janissaries succeeded in capturing the Tower of Italy and entering the city. A furious pitched battle ensued. The Ottomans attacked in waves and the Knights rushed to repel them. The Grand Master, sword in hand, wounded in five places, directed the fighting. After about three hours the enemy, decimated and exhausted, started to retreat. A counterattack by the Knights turned the retreat into a rout, and the fleeing Ottomans swept the Grand Vizier along with them. The Knights reached his tent and managed to capture the holy standard of Islam. On that day the Ottoman dead reached three to four thousand.

This carnage effectively brought the first siege of Rhodes in 1480 to an end. On the 17th of August Mesikh Pasha raised the siege and, embarking with the remnants of his army, set sail for the port of Physcus from which he had come.

In the following year Rhodes was shaken by a great earthquake⁴³, which completed the work of destruction started by the Ottoman bombardment. It was a fearful sight, according to eyewitnesses. The fortifications and city buildings lay for the most part in ruins. The villages had been destroyed, the crops burnt and the animals stolen. The decimated population of the island was starving.

The response of the Knights was in keeping with their ideology as soldier clerics: they held masses, fasted and issued injunctions against moral laxity⁴⁴, at the same time exempting the people from taxes and making distributions of wheat⁴⁵. They also took steps to restore the island's agriculture and livestock, and started rebuilding the fortifications and public and private buildings.

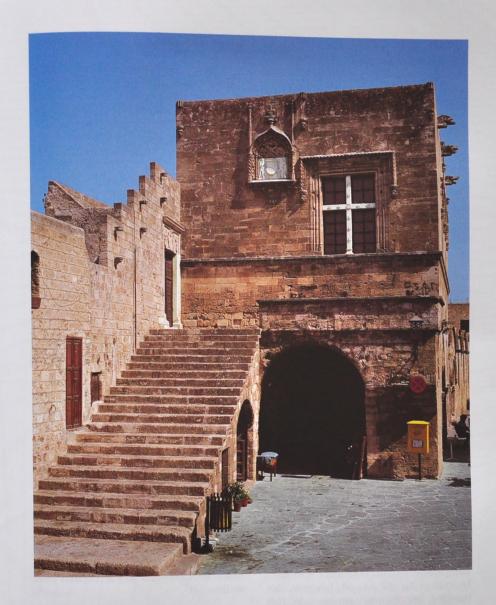
While the Knights were endeavouring to heal the wounds inflicted by the siege and to buttress their position by allying themselves with the governor of Karamania46, as well as raiding and plundering the territory of the Sultan of Egypt, a civil war had broken out in the Ottoman Empire. After the death of Mehmet II the throne was claimed by each of his sons, Bayazet and Djem (or Zizim). After a hard, bloody struggle Bayazet emerged the winner and Djem, who had known the Knights since the days when he was governor of Asia Minor, fled to Rhodes. D'Aubusson welcomed him gladly, since not only did Djem constitute a permanent threat to Bayazet, but his presence afforded a guarantee of peace with the Turks⁴⁷. On his arrival off the island Djem transferred to one of the Hospitallers' galleys out at sea, and on the 29th of July 1482 landed at Rhodes with full ceremonial honours. The Grand Master himself, Pierre d'Aubusson, received him and escorted him to the Inn of France, part of which had been set aside to serve as his private quarters.

Bayazet now began to fear that the Christian rulers might assist his brother to seize power, and he sent emissaries to Rhodes to ask for the rebel prince; for greater security, therefore, the Knights sent Djem to Auvergne in September 1482. He was thus a hostage in their hands as well as a threat to Bayazet, and in the same year they succeeded in making peace⁴⁸ with the Sultan and extracting 40,000 Venetian florins from him for the prince's maintenance.

In 1489 Pope Innocent VIII asked for the Ottoman prince and brought him to Rome to use in the crusade that was being planned. After Innocent's death, the new Pope, Alexander VI Borgia, imprisoned him. Charles VIII of France, having defeated Borgia and curbed his temporal authority, took Djem in his turn to use for a crusade he was organising. In the end the Ottoman prince died in Charles' camp from an unknown cause, perhaps poisoning. With his hands now free after his brother's death, the Sultan began to make small raids on the islands and the Rhodian countryside in preparation, like his father Mehmet II, for a new grand assault, according to information reaching Rhodes.

In 1503 the Ottomans attacked the villages of Archangelos, Pharaklos, Zinodotou, Lachania and Kattavia in Rhodes⁴⁹, from the first of which 100-150 villagers were carried off as slaves. In 1505 the pirate and admiral of the Ottoman fleet, Kemal Reis, sacked the islands of Tinos, Symi, Kos and Leros⁵⁰. In the meantime, in 1503, Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson died; for his victory over the Turks, the Pope in 1489 had conferred on him the title of Cardinal Legate of Asia. He was succeeded by Emery d'Amboise, who came from a great and wealthy French family.

The Knights, while making diplomatic moves to persuade the Western rulers to unite against their common enemy, the Turk, boldly attacked Muslim ships and made landings and raids on enemy territory. They had two great successes.



10. Castellania.

In 1507 they captured the largest ship of the day and the pride of the Egyptian fleet, the *Mogarbina*, which was sailing in the waters off Crete with passengers and merchandise⁵¹. The *Mogarbina* was converted into a warship and renamed the *Santa Maria*, later known as the *Great Carrack*.

In 1510 two naval squadrons, one commanded by Philippe Villiers de l'Isle-Adam and the other by Andrea d'Amaral, made a surprise attack on Egyptian ships laden with timber in the harbour of Alexandretta⁵². Most of them, numbering ten large ships and four galleys, were captured and taken to Rhodes with their crews and cargoes.

In 1512 d'Amboise died and the next Grand Master, Guy de Blanchefort, already a sick man, died while on his way to Rhodes to take up office. He was succeeded by Fabrizio del Carretto. During the period when del Carretto governed Rhodes, the Ottomans became stronger than ever. Bayazet's son, Selim I, was now Sultan; he defeated the Persians in 1514, took Syria in 1516 and annexed Egypt in 1517. In 1516 an Ottoman fleet of 150 ships mounted a display of strength in Rhodian waters and proclaimed the Sultan's victories to the Knights⁵³.

The threat was now imminent. Del Carretto embarked on large-scale defensive works, repairing the walls of the city and renovating the fortifications. At the same time he sent Villiers de l'Isle-Adam to Europe with a broad diplomatic mandate. In spite of his call for aid, however, the troubled international situation in the West was such that only the Pope and the King of France, Francis I, were in a position to supply a quantity of munitions. Selim, now Caliph of Islam, advanced unchecked as far as Arabia (1519). The

storm was approaching and at any moment Rhodes' turn would come. In 1520, however, the Sultan died and was succeeded by his son, Suleiman the Magnificent. A year later del Carretto was also dead and Villiers de l'Isle-Adam became Grand Master; within a short while he and Suleiman were to find themselves locked in a contest over the territory of Rhodes.

Suleiman, having captured Belgrade the gateway to Central Europe (29th of August 1521), now turned his mind to Rhodes and the question of how he could capture its powerful fortress. The garrison and fleet of the warrior monks had closed the sea route to Syria and Egypt. The Knights posed a constant threat to the Ottoman state.

Villiers de l'Isle-Adam⁵⁴ arrived at Rhodes on the 15th of September 1521 from France, where he had been on a diplomatic mission, to learn that he had been elected Grand Master.

The international situation in Western Europe was far from favourable to the Knights. The Emperor Charles V and Francis I of France were at war, and most of the smaller states had become embroiled in the conflict; this not only rendered assistance impossible, but prevented many members of the Order from hurrying to Rhodes. Venice, too, was reluctant to break its friendly ties with Turkey because of its considerable commercial interests there. The Ottomans, fully aware of all this, decided to profit by the situation and strike Rhodes while it was isolated and without aid.

The news reaching the Grand Master was disquieting. At the end of 1521 the Venetian envoy in Constantinople, Marco Minio⁵⁵, noted large-scale preparations under way in the naval dockyards of the

- 28 -



11. Commercial harbour. Mole of the Windmills. On the northern tip, the Tower of the Windmills or of France (taken 1913-1914, Italian Photographic Archive of the Archaeological Institute of the Dodecanese).

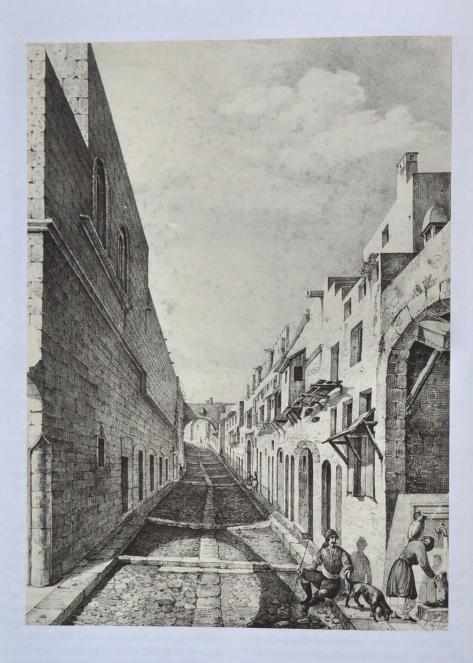
- 29 -

Ottoman capital: new ships were being built, crews recruited, etc. A Ragusan spy of the Grand Master in Constantinople confirmed the preparations but was unable to learn the precise destination of the large naval force that was being made ready. Some said the fleet was sailing against Cyprus, some against Corfu and others against Italy; yet other destinations were rumoured, but very few mentioned Rhodes⁵⁶.

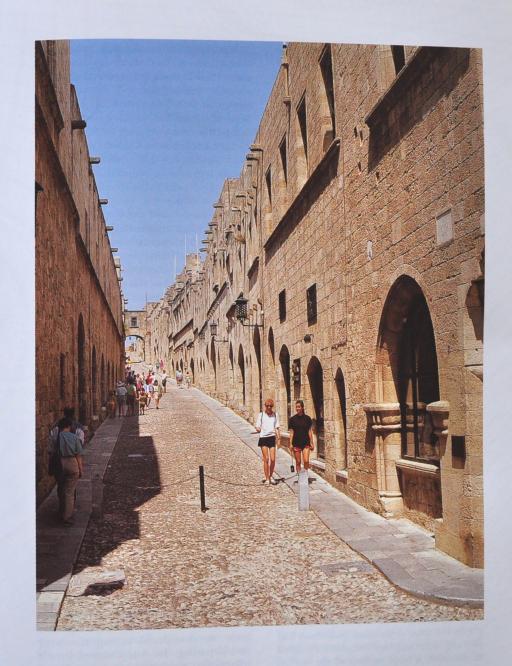
The Knights, deeply uneasy at these reports, took their measures. They deepened the moat, repaired the walls, drew up a defense plan and assigned the fighting men of each Tongue to their stations

on the fortifications. Committees of the senior members of the Order undertook to organise and supervise the supplies of provisions and war materials⁵⁷.

At the beginning of June 1522 Suleiman, his preparations now complete, assembled his army and fleet and appointed Mustafa Pasha, his son-in-law and second vizier, to command the expedition against Rhodes⁵⁸. The Ottoman forces disembarked in Rhodes on the 26th of June. The army on land numbered some 200,000, including 10,000 janissaries and over 60,000 men trained in under mining fortifications. The first ships that arrived were some 280 large and small vessels, which were increased to



12. Street of the Knights (engraving: Rottiers).



13. Street of the Knights.

400 as the siege progressed. Rhodes was defended by a force of 6,000-7,500 men, of whom only some 290 were Knights, the rest being mercenaries⁵⁹. All the villagers who had not taken refuge in the castles of Lindos, Pharaklos and Monolithos gathered with their families and animals in the city, and during the siege were used chiefly for auxiliary tasks.

The Turkish army sealed off the city on all sides, but their tactics were different from those used in 1480. This time the attack was principally even from the sea against the landward fortifications. The huge Ottoman fleet blockaded the harbours. Their artillery began a heavy bombardment of the Spanish, English and Provençal positions and the infantry attacked in wave after wave, but without achieving anything. On the contrary, in spite of the deadly fire raining on the walls, counterattacks by the besieged sowed destruction among the enemy troops. The Ottoman army, hitherto renowned for its fighting spirit and discipline, began to lose heart and signs of indiscipline became apparent in their ranks.

Faced with this situation, Piri Mehmet Pasha, the first vizier, advised the Sultan not to delay his arrival at Rhodes. The appearance on the 28th of July of Suleiman, with fresh ships and men, revived the spirits of his troops. The fighting continued day and night with unabated fury on the part of both adversaries. Artillery and mining played leading roles in this siege. The Turks dug tunnels to gain entry into the city or to blow up parts of the walls so that the infantry could enter, but the Knights nearly always succeeded in neutralising them with countermines, which prevented their detonation. Suleiman had fifty engineers impaled because they failed to demolish a large section of the wall as they had promised.

A big attack on the English bastion developed into a slaughter of the Turks and some 2,000 of them fell on that day. Along with the bombardment of the city, they continued their infantry onslaughts. They demolished the lofty bell tower of St John and partly destroyed Fort St Nicholas. In another attack on the English positions the Ottomans lost 3,000 men. The walls in the Italian sector were reduced to an amorphous pile by Piri Pasha's artillery fire.

As time passed and the siege continued, shortages of all supplies, especially ammunition, made themselves felt in the town. The morale of the people, particularly those from the country and the smaller islands, was at a low ebb. At the beginning of September representatives from the islands of Nisyros and Tilos came of their own accord at the Sultan's camp and surrendered the keys of their castles to him.

The first general coordinated attack was launched on the 24th of September simultaneously against the Spanish, English, Provençal and Italian positions. The fighting was hand to hand; attack was followed by counterattack. The Spanish position changed hands twice. Finally the Turks retired. The Knights captured 40 standards and the ground around the fortress was piled with bodies. The sea by the Italian position was red with the blood of the killed and wounded. The Turks lost 15,000 to 20,000 dead; the Christians about 200, with some 150 wounded. All the inhabitants of the city, from the children to the old men, fought selflessly to repel the attack.

This setback shook the Sultan, and there were moments when in his disappointment he considered raising the siege and departing. He was deterred by the information of an Albanian deserter⁶⁰ and the treachery of the Chancellor, Andrea

d'Amaral. Both of them assured him that there was a severe shortage in the city of food, military supplies and especially manpower. The fortifications were in ruins and there were no hands to repair them. Although the Grand Master brought in men from garrisons of the other castles in Rhodes, Kos and the Castle of St Peter (Petroumi), the situation remained hopeless.

The treachery of the Chancellor was discovered on the 30th of October. His servant Blas Diez was caught shooting arrows with messages to the Ottomans informing them of the conditions in the besieged city. Interrogation revealed that the traitor had made an agreement with the Ottomans to open one of the gates to them on All Saints Day, November 1st. On the 5th of November both the guilty men were executed⁶¹.

At the end of November another big attack was launched against the Spanish and Italian positions, but it too was repulsed, leaving 3,000 Turks dead on the field. Although the situation of the Rhodians steadily deteriorated, the Turks also had their troubles. The continuous five monthold siege had severely lowered the morale of the Sultan's soldiers. Winter was approaching, food was becoming scarce and, more important, the news from the West was bad. There was a probability that Charles V and the Pope would join forces to assist the Order.

The Turks, therefore, cleverly bypassed the leaders and addressed themselves directly to the Rhodian people. Knowing how low spirits had fallen through hunger, sickness, hardships and fear of death, proclamations⁶² attached to arrows were shot into the city promising the ordinary people peace, respect for their religion and honour and other inducements if the city

were surrendered, but slaughter, looting and slavery if it were taken by the sword.

At first the Knights, and especially the Grand Master, refused to listen to any talk of surrender. Under pressure from the people, however, whose representatives visited Villiers de l'Isle-Adam and the Archbishop Clement⁶³, the Knights were obliged to agree to negotiations. A threeday truce was announced for the 11th-13th of December, but the Rhodians demanded further guarantees for their lives. The Sultan, enraged, ordered the bombardment and assaults on the city to be resumed. On the 17th of December the Turks captured the Spanish bastion. The city was in hourly danger of falling to the Turks and the people of being slaughtered or enslaved.

Then on the 22nd of December an embassy of Latins and Greeks presented themselves to Suleiman and declared their acceptance of the peace terms proposed by the Sultan, which briefly were the following64: the Knights could leave within twelve days with their arms and whatever else they wished to take with them; any Rhodian, Frank or Greek, who wished to leave might do so within a period of three years; the churches would not be looted and everyone would be allowed to keep their religion; furthermore, the Sultan would grant a five year tax exemption and there would be no child tribute in that period. In spite of this, there were incidents of violence and looting by the Turks on Christmas Eve and Day.

After signing the surrender of the city and an exchange of visits between the Grand Master and Suleiman, the Knights, together with four or five thousand of the people⁶⁵ and Archbishop Clement, embarked on their ships and, at dawn on the 1st of January 1523, sailed for Crete.

The rest of the Dodecanese islands which had not already surrendered gave themselves up one after the other.

This conflict, which had so tested the spirit and military strength of the two foes, was indeed particularly bloody. An account of the siege written by a West European eyewitness on November 14th 1522, about one and a half months before the surrender of Rhodes, put the Ottoman dead at 50,000 and the Christian dead at about 2,000%.

The epilogue was written shortly afterwards. In Egypt Ahmet Pasha, the Sultan's representative, having quelled a rebellion that had broken out, declared his independence and began plotting against Suleiman. His delegates sought an alliance with the Pope and the Knights against the Sultan, with the promise that he would assist them to recover Rhodes. The Agha of Rhodes, Ibrahim, was one of Ahmet's men and supported the rebellion. Rhodian merchants who met with him also told the Grand Master that it would be easy to retake the island. A Hospitaller envoy, Antonio Bosio, came to the island in secret to meet the Archbishop Euthymios, the leading Greeks and the Turkish Agha, and made a pact with them. The Grand Master asked the assistance of Charles V, the Pope and Henry of England, who all promised him help. Meanwhile in Egypt Ahmet had been assassinated. The Rhodians together with the Agha now feared for their heads. Bosio went back and forth to Rhodes until, suspecting a conspiracy, the Ottomans changed the garrison, arrested Euthymios, the Agha and other Greek and Muslim notables and executed them in 1529. Thus

the last hope for the Knights of recapturing Rhodes was extinguished⁶⁷.

Rhodes, which for the 213 years of Hospitaller rule had been an outpost of Western policy, passed into the Muslim camp. Its social and cultural orientation changed, for most of the urban population of the island had left with the Knights. The Ottoman conquest broke the continuity of the island's cultural evolution, whose beginnings were lost in time. Only in the hearts of the people did the ancient Hellenic tradition survive. Rhodes returned as an active member to the European fold in 1912, when it was taken by the Italians; it was subsequently incorporated into Greece along with the other Dodecanese islands in 1947. The Knights fled to Crete and from there to Italy, and finally in 1530 they established themselves on the island of Malta⁶⁸, which was ceded to them by Charles V of Spain. The Knights of Malta, as the Knights of St John were henceforth known, continued their struggle against the Muslims, which once more brought them into conflict with their old antagonist, Suleiman the Magnificent. On the 18th of May 1565 picked Ottoman troops besieged Malta but they were repulsed after a three-month siege. The Knights, although they were an organisation rooted in the traditions of the Middle Ages, remained in Malta until they were expelled by Napoleon in 1797. Subsequently they wandered around Italy trying to reestablish themselves, but without success. Eventually, in 1830, they settled permanently in Rome, where they renounced their military character and devoted themselves solely to social care⁶⁹.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION OF RHODES

EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

We know very little about the administrative organisation of Rhodes from the Early Christian period until 1309, when the island was conquered by the Knights of St John. It was the capital of the "Province of the Islands"1 from the end of the 3rd c. AD and together with the other islands, about 19 in all, was governed by an official with the title of hegemon. Later - we do not know exactly when - it was assigned to the maritime Cibyrhaeote theme2, governed by a strategus. References in historical sources and the lead seats of officials, such as "royal candidatus and archon of Rhodes"3 (10th, 11th c.), "judge and recorder of the Cycladic islands"4 (1088), "dux"5 (1160-1170) and "vestes"6, do not in my opinion signify that in the Middle Byzantine period Rhodes was necessarily an independent administrative unit of the Byzantine Empire⁷. It is possible that administratively it formed part of the Cibyrhaeote theme. We meet the same problem at the beginning of the 13th c., when Rhodes was governed by Leo Gavalas, representing the Empire; prompted by the tragic events of the capture of Constantinople by the Franks in 1204, he declared the island an independent state8 and proclaimed himself "lord of Rhodes". Until 1275 there seems to have been some Byzantine control over the island9, but by the third quarter of the 13th and first decade of the 14th c. it was a dependency of Constantinople with feudal ties10.

We know nothing of the island's internal

administration during this long period. It is likely that the system of administration and the relations of the subjects to the central or local authority had their own peculiar features; during the Middle Ages such peculiarities were often the result of local conditions and a militarily important geographical location. There is evidence that the privileges and self-governing institutions that existed in the Dodecanese under the Knights had been defined and established in much earlier times¹¹.

ORGANISATION OF THE KNIGHTS OF ST JOHN ON RHODES

Class and Ethnic Composition

The Order of the Knights of St John or Knights Hospitaller had its roots in the deepest aspirations of European feudal society. It was founded and organised in pursuit of that society's short- and longterm goals. Within the Order a strict social hierarchy prevailed; this was never violated but, on the contrary, was imposed with great strictness. The Order was composed of three classes: knights, chaplains and serving brothers. This class division corresponded to the tripartite subdivision of medieval society into nobility, clergy and common people. The Order most probably acquired its class sructure in the first half of the 12th c., when Grand Master R. du Puys changed the monastic foundation into a religious body.

The Knights¹² (Lat. milites) were always from noble families. Authority rested chiefly in their hands, and only very exceptionally did members of the other two classes share in it. The Knights occupied all the important administrative and military positions, like those of Grand Master, Bailiff, etc.

The chaplains (Lat. cappelani) were not noble, but their parents could not be serfs. They were the priests13 of the Order and their duties were confined to conducting religious functions. There were three ranks within this class: ordinary priests, chaplains and priors, who are not to be confused with the heads of priories. The ordinary priests assisted at religious ceremonies. Every commandery had its own chaplain. Many of them were attached to the headquarters of the Order and others accompanied the Hospitaller fleet and army on naval and military expeditions. The highest rank, that of prior, was open to anyone over the age of twenty-six who had served in the Order for at least one year.

Each priory had its own prior, who had all the chaplains in his area under his authority. The highest office of this rank was that of Prior of the Church of St John in the Collachium. He had authority over all the chaplains who were in Rhodes and held a high position in the general hierarchy of the Order.

The sergeants, or serving brothers (Lat. serventes armorum), like the chaplains, were the sons of free men and not serfs. They assisted the Knights¹⁴ in war and in tending the wounded, the poor and those whose sufferings were unmerited. They also occupied the lower posts in the public administration and the army.

From almost the beginning the Order of the Knights of St John was an international organisation, whose members came from all over Catholic Europe. Within this united and indissoluble body, however, there were clear divisions between the different nationalities. The term "tongue" (lingua) expressed the modern concept of nation or nationality. Up until 1461 the Tongues were seven in number, divided into the following hierarchical order according to chronological precedence: Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon (which embraced all the Knights hailing from the Iberian Peninsula), England and Germany.

From the time of Grand Master J. de Lastic, the Order was riddled with discord. The Tongues of Italy, Aragon, England and Germany complained and protested that the three senior Tongues in the hierarchy, those of Provence, Auvergne and France, held most of the offices in the public administration and the army. At the General Chapter of 1461, convoked by Grand Master P. R. Zacosta, it was decided to split the Tongue of Aragon, or Spain, into two15. One of them retained the old name and position in the hierarchy, while the other was renamed the Tongue of Castile and ranked eighth in order. Each of the Tongues had its own Inn in Rhodes, where its members met and where they entertained important visitors from Europe. The Knights did not live in the Inns, but maintained separate residences in the Collachium.

Every Tongue had its own head, the pilier, who belonged to the highest rank of officials, the Grand Cross (Lat. magna crux). Each of these was entrusted with specific duties within the state organisation, and at least four of them had to be in residence in Rhodes at any one time. None of them could absent himself from the headquarters of the Order without the permission of the Chapter, and while he was away, the Tongue to which he belonged appointed a deputy. The same rule applied if he were far from Rhodes on a military enterprise.

Central Administration

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND ARMY OFFICIALS

a. *Grand Master* (Lat. magnus magister). He was always a member of the first class of Knights and was himself a noble. The method of his election by the Chapter General was a singular one¹⁶. This body chose a commander from the Chapter, who in his turn named the first three electors, consisting of a knight, a chaplain and a serving brother. These then chose a fourth elector, and the four of them chose a fifth. This process continued until there were thirteen electors, who, after a joint consultation, chose the new head of the Order.

The Grand Master was the supreme authority over the administration and army for life. The Chapter General could only circumscribe his powers and exert some control over his actions, but since it met only every two, five or even ten years, he was the real ruler of the state. Nevertheless, when some grave and important action or decision was at issue, he would convene the Chapter, and he also had the power, when he deemed it necessary, to convene the Chapter General.

After the Grand Master came eight other high officers in the central administration: the Grand Commander, Marshal, Grand Hospitaller, Admiral, Drapier, Treasurer or Grand Bailiff, Turcopolier and Chancellor. These were the "pillars" (piliers: Lat. pillerii) of the Tongues. In medieval texts they are also referred to as bailiffs (Lat. baiulivii conventiales). Originally they were chosen by the Grand Chapter or Grand Master without regard to nationality, but in November 1320 the Chapter General of Arles¹⁷ decreed that in future each of these offices should be given to a different Tongue.

b. Grand Commander (Lat. magnus praecep-

tor or magnus comendator). He was the head of the Tongue of Provence and second in rank to the Grand Master¹⁸. His functions were strictly laid down. He seems to have administered the properties of the Order and been comptroller of its revenues, taxes and various resources. He deputised for the Grand Master when the latter was absent from Rhodes. Under him were the Commander of the Vault (Lat. praeceptor voltae) and the Superintendent of Granaries (Lat. praeceptor granarii). The first was responsible for the stores of soap, meat, copper, etc., and may have been chosen from the class of serving brothers. The second procured the supplies of wheat and other cereals for the Order.

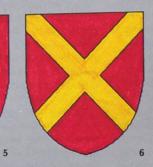
c. Marshal (Lat. marescallus). He was the head of the Tongue of Auvergne and was not chief of the army19, as one might think, but in charge of procuring arms, ammunition, horses' gear, etc. He controlled the armouries and his duties overlapped with those of the Admiral. Under him he had the Master Esquire (magnus scutarius), the Constable (comes stabuli or cunestable), the Commander of the Horse and perhaps also, at one time, the Castellans. The Master Esquire20 came from the class of serving brothers and had authority over the grooms and stables. The office of Constable²¹, whose duties overlapped at certain periods with those of the Master Esquire and the Marshal, may have lapsed before the Knights came to Rhodes. The functions of the Commander of the Horse are uncertain²²; he may have commanded a body of cavalry.

The Castellans²³ were in charge of the fortresses. It is also probable, however, that they were directly responsible to the Grand Master or Grand Bailiff.

d. Grand Hospitaller (Lat. hospitalarius or magnus hospitalarius). He was the head of the Tongue of France and was responsible for











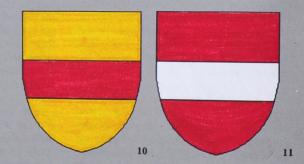




COATS OF ARMS OF THE GRAND MASTERS

- 1. Foulques de Villaret (1309-1317)
- 2. Helion de Villeneuve (1319-1346)
- 3. Dieudonné de Gozon (1346-1353)
- 4. Pierre de Corneillan (1353-1355)
- 5. Roger des Pins (1355-1365)
- 6. Raymond Berenger (1365-1373)
- 7. Robert de Juillac (1373-1377)
- 8. Juan Fernadez de Heredia (1377-1396)
 - 9. Philibert de Naillac (1396-1421)
 - 10. Antoni Fluviã (1421-1437)
- 11. Jean Bonpart de Lastic (1437-1454) 12. Jacques de Milly (1454-1461)
- 13. Pedro Raimondo Zacosta (1461-1467)
- 14. Giovanni Batista degli Orsini (1467-1476)
- 15. Pierre d'Aubusson (1476-1503)
- 16. Emery d'Amboise (1503-1512)
- 17. Guy de Blanchefort (1512-1513)
- 18. Fabrizio del Carretto (1513-1521)
- 19. Philippe Villiers de l'Isle-Adam (1521-1523; d. 1534)











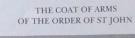














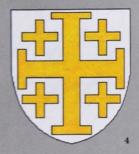


COATS OF ARMS OF THE TONGUES OF THE ORDER OF THE KNIGHTS OF ST JOHN

- 1. England
- 2. Germany 3. France-Auvergne
- 4. Provence
- 5. Navarre 6. Portugal
- 7. Castile / Aragon













the treatment of the sick and for social welfare24. He was in charge of the hospital and all those caring for the sick and for abandoned children. He was assisted by two councillors appointed by the Grand Master, and he chose another official, the Hospitaller (Lat. infermarius), whom he presented to the Grand Master and the Chapter for approval. The Hospitaller's term of office was two years, but could be extended. His duty was to visit the sick night and day, and he was under the authority of the Grand Hospitaller's two councillors. The doctors examined the sick in the presence of the Hospitaller and representatives of the eight tongues. There was a pharmacy and a pharmacist. The Grand Hospitaller and his two councillors were responsible for procuring the medicines.

- e. Admiral (Lat. admiratus). This office was given to the head of the Tongue of Italy25. It first appeared at the end of the 13th c., when the Order began as a naval power. He was the commander of the fleet and had absolute authority over all the ships and crews, except when the Grand Master was present.
- f. Drapier26 (Lat. drapperius, magnus conservator). He was the head of the Tongue of Aragon. He attended to the clothing of the members of the Order and was in charge of the workshops and clothing stores.
- g. Turcopolier (Lat. magnus turcopulerius). He was the head of the Tongue of England²⁷. Originally, he commanded the Turcopoles, a body of light horse. Until the beginning of the 14th c. he was only a simple army officer under the Marshal. The General Chapter of 1304 elevated his office to the rank of conventual bailiff and made it seventh in the hierarchy of the Order.
- h. Treasurer or Grand Bailiff (Lat. tresaurarius, magnus baiulivus). He was the head of the Tongue of Germany28 and admi-

nistered the Order's finances. He was also in charge of the superintendents of the stores of food, wood and merchandise. He even supervised the stock breeding farms (poultry, pigs, etc.). Later the Grand Bailiff was also made responsible for all the fortresses belonging to the Knights.

i. Grand Chancellor (Lat. magnus cancellarius). From 1461 onwards this office was given to the new Tongue of Castile. He was chief of the Grand Master's secretariat, and sealed and signed the original state documents.

There was also a series of lower offices with indeterminate functions, like those of magister asinariai, custos asinariai, magister operis or custos operis, which were given to the class of serving brothers.

COLLECTIVE ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES

- a. Chapter General29 (Lat. capitulum generale). This was the supreme authority, and every member of the Order was entitled to participate in it. It controlled all the activities of the administrative and military organs of the state. Its decisions were law. In the beginning it met every five years; later it met every ten or even fifteen years. In the event of the death of the Grand Master an extraordinary session was convened.
- b. The Chapter30 (Lat. capitulum or conventus). This advised and assisted the Grand Master in the work of administration. It was always held at the headquarters of the Order. In the early period, while the seat of the Knights was still in Jerusalem, the members of the Chapter were elected by the Chapter General or Grand Master from among the Knights without regard to the Tongues they belonged to. In November 1320, however, the Chapter General decided that the Chapter should thenceforth consist of the heads of

Tongues, the piliers. The bulla³¹ with which all its decisions were sealed depicted the Holy Sepulchre on one side, and on the other the members of the Chapter kneeling before a double cross. Around the edge was incised the inscription BULLA MAGISTRI ET CONVENTUS.

Justice was dispensed by judges who were under the authority of the Bailiff of Rhodes (baiulivus Rhodi), who was appointed directly by the Grand Master³². There was a court of the first instance and a court of appeal. The commercial tribunal³³ settled differences between merchants and traders and was supervised by the Bailiff of Commerce (baiulivus commercii).

References in contemporary documents suggest that the local Greek element in Rhodes possessed a measure of independence and that the Knights found this convenient. In difficult situations and when very serious matters were involved, mixed commissions of Franks and Greeks were set up to decide the issues34. Certain functionaries make frequent appearances in the written administrative acts of the Knights, such as the protedes35, "good men", "good men of the country"36, "elders", etc., who were local Greeks. We now have good reason to believe that in the Dodecanese the Knights adopted local autonomous institutions37 that had been established by historical circumstances many centuries previously. We can, I believe, trace the rights of self-government enjoyed by the Dodecanese islands under Ottoman rule back to these institutions, since the Turks very probably accepted already existing forms of selfadministration.

Local Administration

The possessions of the Knights were not limited to the Dodecanese. They owned vast landed wealth all over Europe, from Portugal to Denmark, Hungary and Bohemia, and from England to Cyprus. The estates in the Dodecanese and Europe were administered through a centralised system which emanated from the supreme authority of the Chapter General, the Grand Master and his Chapter. The administrative units were two: the commandery and the priory.

a. The Commandery. This was the first and basic administrative unit of the Hospitaller regime³⁸. Its authority extended over an indeterminate number of neighbouring settlements and estates, and it was under the direction of a Commander (comendator or praeceptor), who was drawn from the senior class of Knights and had at least three years of service in the Order. The commanderies most crucial to the defense of the state were called castellanies, and the castellan (castellanus) had to have five years service behind him. A number of Knights or serving brothers assisted the commander. A chaplain was entrusted with the religious needs of the community.

The head of a commandery was appointed by the regional prior. Every year the commander was required to pay a fixed tax to the prior, who was his superior.

b. The *Priory*. A priory³⁹ like those of France, Auvergne, Messina, etc., consisted of an indefinite number of commanderies. The prior was appointed by the Chapter General on the recommendation of the Grand Master. The terms Grand Priory and Grand Prior were introduced when the Order was in the Dodecanese. When a prior died within the bounds of his territory, the commander in whose district the death had occurred summoned the twelve nearest commanders to choose a temporary prior until a new one could be elected. If he died outside the bounds of his priory, then the deputy he had appointed in accordance with the rules of the Order before he left his priory, temporarily assumed office.





Silver coin (gigliato) of Grand Master Helion de Villeneuve (1319-1346).
 Grand Master's Palace, Rhodes.

In order to maintain continuous and lasting contacts between the more distant provinces and the central government, the prior was obliged, when summoned by the Grand Master, to travel to the headquarters of the Order to report on his work. This report was supposed to be made about every five years, but the rule was not strictly observed since the journey from the far ends of Western Europe to Rhodes was long and arduous. In 1301 the Chapter General decided that at least two priors each year should be in permanent residence at the headquarters of the Order, and the Chapter General of 1370 increased this number from two to three.

The prior appointed the commanders. A provincial chapter assisted him in his work. He also collected the revenues from the commanderies and sent them to the headquarters. He periodically inspected his provinces to review the administration and finances.

A grand commander (magnus comendator or magnus praeceptor), not to be confused

with the synonymous head of the Tongue of Provence, had under his authority the priories of a whole country, such as Italy, Spain or France. This office did not necessarily always exist in every country. The Knights' mint⁴⁰ was in the Collachium, but the exact site is unknown. Their system of coinage was as follows⁴¹: two deniers equalled one carat, eight carats one asper, two aspers one gigliato (fig. 14), one and a half gigliati or three aspers one bezant, and six bezants one ducat or sequin.

Ecclesiastical Organisation

Christianity appears to have taken early root in Rhodes. Along with the merchandise from both East and West which passed through its harbour came new social and religious ideas.

We know that by at least the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 4th c. Rhodes possessed an organised church⁴² with Photinos as bishop. Some decades later Bishop Euphrosynos represented Rhodes at the

First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea (325). In the 4th c. the Arian, Severan and Pelasgian heresies⁴³ spread to Rhodes, showing that the Christian community of the island was very much alive and passionately interested in debating and following the new ideas in circulation.

Subsequent fragmentary information from historical sources mentions the names of some Rhodian bishops: Photinos (end of 3rd c.), Euphrosynos (325), Hellanikos (431), John I (449-454), Agapetos (455-459), Esalah (513-528), Theodosius (553), Isidore (680-681), Leo (783-801), Theophanes (814-832), Michael (858, 868-879), Leontius (858-879), Theodore (997), John II (1070-1100), Nicephorus (1147-1156), anonymous (1156), John III (1166), Leo II (1166), George (?), Theodoulos (1256), anonymous (1274). In accordance with the oldest probable order of precedence, Rhodes44 had the 26th place, which by the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th c. had dropped to 55th.

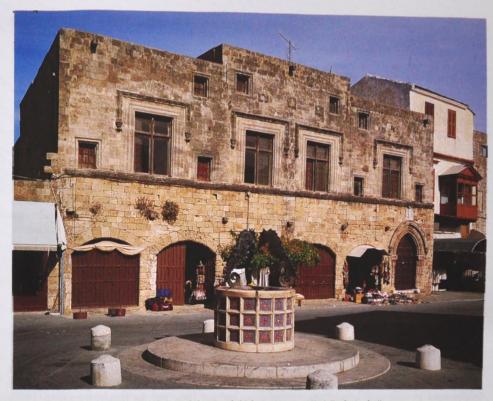
When the Knights Hospitaller occupied the Dodecanese, all ties were severed between the Greeks and the Patriarchate of Constantinople⁴⁵, as was indeed also the case in nearly all the regions of Greece under Frankish rule. The metropolitan see of Rhodes and the other bishoprics (Kos, Karpathos and Kalymnos) ceased to be administered by Orthodox prelates. Even before the Knights arrived in Rhodes, a bull of Pope Clement V granted them the prerogative of appointing the Latin archbishop of Rhodes with the title of *archiepiscopus Colossensis*⁴⁶.

The metropolitan see of Rhodes and the other Dodecanese bishoprics were administered by Greek ecclesiastical officials, like the "Grand Oeconomus", "Sacellarius", etc. The Patriarchate of Constantinople continued to consecrate absentee Rhodian bishops, or else the metropolitan see of Rhodes was given to the bishops of other

provinces "as an additional honorary title"47 Historians of the Dodecanesian Church place the anti-Latin Metropolitan of Rhodes, Neilos II Diasorinos, between the years 1157 and 1369, and maintain that he did actually establish himself on his throne⁴⁸. There is, nevertheless, evidence that although he had been consecrated, he was not able to come to Rhodes, and that he was in fact the first and not the second Neilos. A mistaken comment in a hagiographic text concerning the miracles of St Phanourios⁴⁹ created the impression that in about 883 the metropolitan see of Rhodes was occupied by a certain Neilos, who was the first to adopt this name, and that he was followed by a second Neilos, Diasorinos.

The Orthodox throne of Rhodes remained vacant until the second quarter of the 15th c., when the Church Union movement started50. The Metropolitan of Rhodes, Nathaniel, appeared at the Council of Florence and put his signature to the declaration of Church Union. Moreover, along with the bishops of Monemvasia, Mytilene and others, he also requested the Pope to remove the Latin bishops of the provinces, but this was not granted. From then on, without a break until the end of Frankish rule (1522), there were prelates on the metropolitan throne of Rhodes⁵¹: Nathaniel (1437-1455), Neilos II (1455-1470) (he is always referred to in the episcopal lists as III), Metrophanes (1471-1498), Gregory⁵² (?-1511), and Clement⁵³ (1511-1522).

Considerable light is thrown on the method of electing the Metropolitan of Rhodes by the "Act of Rhodes", a document⁵⁴ preserved in a Patmos codex and dated August 1455. It was drawn up in Rome⁵⁵ by the Uniate Patriarch Gregory III and refers to the election and consecration of the metropolitan Neilos II. According to what is written in the "Act", a special convocation of the clergy and representatives of the Rhodian people chose the incumbent met-



15. Residence of the Greek bishop (?), so-called "Admiralty"

ropolitan and the election was ratified by the Grand Master. The metropolitan-elect was then consecrated according to the rites of the Orthodox Church.

Nevertheless, the question of spiritual competence remained a highly tangled one and seems often to have provoked disputes between the Latin Archbishop and the Metropolitan of Rhodes until, in July 1474, an agreement was signed⁵⁶ between Archbishop Giuliano Ubaldini and the Metropolitan Metrophanes. According to its provisions: 1) Greek electors from the people of Rhodes, both clerical and lay, submitted the names of two or three candidates for the met-

ropolitan chair to the Grand Master, who was obliged to choose one of them. The election had to be ratified by the Latin Archbishop. The new metropolitan, having sworn an oath of fidelity to the Grand Master and the Catholic Archbishop, was duly consecrated by Orthodox prelates in accordance with the canons of the Eastern Church. 2) Trials of Orthodox priests and marriages of Greeks fell within the jurisdiction of both the metropolitan and the archbishop, with the proviso that neither of them could act without the other. Since neither of the two ecclesiastical heads possessed the funds to maintain judges and gaols of their own, they used those of the state. Civil cases were tried

according to Rhodian law. 3) If a parish were left vacant, the new incumbent was appointed by the Grand Master, who in accordance with ancient usage had legal authority over the churches and parishes.

Thanks to the document⁵⁷ Arch. no. 400 (Liber bullarum 1510-1511), fols 228r-230r, 230v-231v, we know the names and ranks of the officials (14) of the Greek clergy and those of the archons (13) who took part on the 11th of September 1511 as electors in the election of the Metropolitan of Rhodes, Clement. The election was held in the Greek cathedral in the presence of the representative (Lat. senescalcus) of the Grand Master Philippe Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, the undersecretary of the Order Bartolomeo Poliziano and two judges, one from the court of the first instance and the other from the court of appeal. After the election, the electors together with the senescalcus, the judges and the undersecretary went to the palace and announced the results to the Grand Master. After seven days, on 18th of September, the Grand Master of the Hospitaller summoned the Chapter of the Order and proclaimed before the electors and a part of the Rhodian people the election of Clement, who, having kissed the hand of the Grand Master and sworn loyalty to the Grand Master and Catholic Archbishop, and escorted by the senescalcus and archdeacon of the Latin archbishopric, then proceeded to the cathedral, where the official ceremony of his "enthronement" took place.

In 1513 the Metropolitan Clement succeeded in issuing a papal bull⁵⁸ that granted more favourable terms than those of the 1474 agreement. The acceptance of the Florentine "term" was purely conventional

in character. The people, particularly in the countryside, remained faithful to their own traditions and the pure Orthodox dogma, since they had nothing to gain from the accords reached by the higher clergy and the nobles. There were frequent disturbances in the villages and the city which, on two occasions, in 1471 and 1476, obliged the authorities to intervene to appease popular feeling.

Our information about the Latin Archbishopric of Rhodes, to which the bishops on the neighbouring islands were subordinate, is fragmentary⁵⁹. There is mention in 1324 of the transfer of the Archbishop Ballianos to Spalato (Split). In the same year he was replaced by Bernard, who had hitherto been the bishop of Kos, and who died and was buried in Rhodes in 1335; his gravestone can be seen in the Rhodes Museum⁶⁰. Hugues ascended the throne in 1351. In 1361 he was made bishop of Ragusa and was succeeded by Emmanuel, previously bishop of Famagusta. Emmanuel died in 1363 and the throne was occupied in 1365 by Guillaume, bishop of Nisyros. A certain Jean Fardin is mentioned in 1370. In 1396 Mathieu de Emboli became archbishop, to be succeeded in 1431 by Andreas Petras, of Greek descent, an active cultured man, who played a leading role in the movement for Church Union. When he became bishop of Nicosia he was succeeded by Jean Morel, in 1446. In 1474 the Catholic throne of Rhodes was occupied by Giuliano Ubaldini, who negotiated the agreement already mentioned with the Orthodox Metropolitan, Metrophanes. In 1494 Marco Montanus became archbishop, and in 1506 Leonardo Balestrinis, who left in 1523 after the capture of Rhodes by the Ottomans.

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

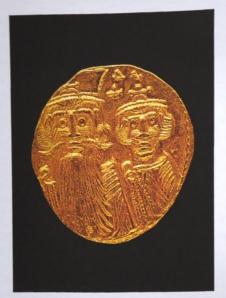
ECONOMY

Rhodes, as part of the Empire in the Early Christian and Byzantine periods, lost its economic independence but never ceased to be regarded as a major port in the eastern Aegean and continued to retain its strategic value. The mere existence of so many Early Christian coastal settlements, even small ones (Aphantou, Charaki at Malona, Kalathos, Lindos, Kiotari, Yennadi, Armeni at Lachania, Plimmyri, Monolithos beach, Kamiros Skala, Dipotamos at Soroni, Rhodes town and others), not all of which have been properly excavated yet, is a solid indication of the growth of an open mercantile economy, at least in the Early Christian period. This is further attested by two inscriptions, one at Vati1 and the other at Plimmyri² (districts in the south of the island), referring to naukleroi, owners or captains of ships. Because of the large number of Rhodian coastal settlements such a system presupposes a flourishing primary or secondary economy, or both. Written historical evidence that in the second half of the 7th c. the Arabs tried to establish not only a garrison but a colony in Rhodes3 shows that the island had more than a military importance for them; they must also have considered it capable of providing a number of their compatriots with a satisfactory livelihood. They may have wanted to settle there because of the

island's fertility and the timber⁴ for shipbuilding provided by its forests, or more probably because of its advantageous commercial situation.

The lead seal⁵ dating to 694-696 of a kommerkiarios (customs official) of Caria, Lycia, Cherson and Rhodes, and another lead seal6 of a kommerkiarios (7th-8th c.) of Asia and Caria, found in Rhodes, are further indications that the island played an important part in the commercial traffic of the end of the 7th c. (fig. 16) and even in the 8th. During the Early and Middle Byzantine periods the naval yard of Rhodes7 was among the most important in the Aegean. The Byzantine fleet frequently assembled there at the end of the 7th and during the 8th and 10th c. to strike at Arab-held Africa and, in the 9th c., at Arab-occupied Crete. In 1082 the Venetians, recognising Rhodes's importance for commerce and shipping, obtained the Byzantine emperor's permission to establish a trading station in the port.

The relatively large coinage circulation⁹ in Rhodes at the end of the 11th and in the 12th c. is proof of the thriving economic activity on the island. A Western European visitor¹⁰ at the end of the 12th c. commented on the sadness of the ruins of the ancient city and the shrunken





16. Gold Byzantine coin (661-663 AD) of the emperor Constans. Grand Master's Palace, Rhodes.

Byzantine settlement in their midst, but he and his crusader companions were nevertheless able to procure provisions. It would seem that at that time there was a surplus of agricultural products which the Rhodians were able to export. In the Middle Byzantine period they exported agricultural products to the Crusader possessions¹¹ in Syria and Palestine. Rhodian wine¹² was always excellent and was traded as far afield as Constantinople. Wine and cereal products were also exported by Rhodes¹³ to Cyprus around the middle of the 13th c.

We know very little about the relations and structures of production in Rhodes during the Early Christian and Byzantine periods. There is no doubt, however, that, at least in the Middle Byzantine period, there were large estates, as elsewhere. In about the middle of the 11th c. Theodore Alopos¹⁴ owned a large estate and resided in Constantinople. Place names¹⁵ like t'Aphantou (estates of Euphantos), t'Asgourou (estates of Sgouros), ta Kalavarda (estates of kalos Vardas) among others denote large landed estates.

The multinational composition of the Order of the Hospital naturally brought Rhodes into economic, cultural and political contact with the whole of Western Europe from Portugal to Scandinavia and from Cyprus to England. Its port became one of the most important in the eastern Mediterranean. The goods¹⁶ that were shipped to the island from East to



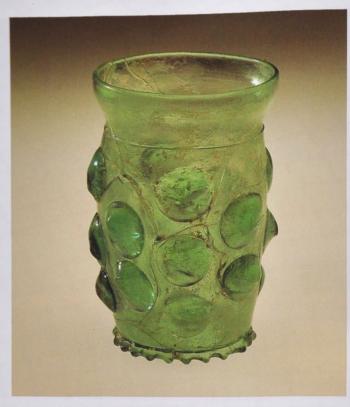
17. Cup with incised and painted monochrome decoration and a monogram (14th c.) at the bottom. Grand Master's Palace, Rhodes.

West and vice versa included perfumes, saffron, beeswax, pepper, caviar, woollen and silk fabrics, carpets, pottery (figs 17-18 and 22-23), oil, wine, hides, sugar, slaves, etc.

From the earliest decades of Hospitaller rule large Florentine commercial and banking enterprises¹⁷ were established in Rhodes, such as Peruzzi, Bardi, Altoviti, Capponi, Federighi, Guaratesi, Acciaioli

and Alberti. Florentine trade reached such a volume in Rhodes that in 1483 J. Gaetani came to the island representing Florence to request more commercial facilities for his compatriots¹⁸.

Although relations between the Knights and the Venetians were not generally good, there is frequent mention of Venetian consuls stationed in Rhodes and of the traffic in goods, especially in connection



18. Glass knob-beaker (late 15th c.). Grand Master's Palace, Rhodes.

with Venetian-occupied Crete¹⁹. Most of the sugar produced in Cyprus and Rhodes was purchased by Venetian merchants²⁰. Bankers and merchants from Montpellier and Narbonne handled the money and products of the large prosperous estates of the Knights in the south of France, the Iberian Peninsula and Cyprus²¹. In 1356 Grand Master R. de Pins permitted Narbonne to establish a consulate in Rhodes. He also exempted the merchants and citizens of that city generally from all taxes

apart from those for the repair of the harbour, the manufacture of soap in the state factory and for slaves who were not their personal servants. In the event of enemy attack, however, the citizens of Narbonne were obliged to assist in the defense of the city²².

Trade with Spain²³ was also well developed, particulary during the 5th c. Aragonese vessels plied the seas around the Dodecanese carrying merchandise or raid-

ing the coast of Asia Minor, using Kastellorizo as their base.

Commercial relations between Rhodes and Turkish Anatolia do not appear to have ever been interrupted, even when they were at war. Rhodes imported carpets, silks, wheat, pottery, utensils, etc. from Asia Minor, and in return the Turks bought hides, wool fabrics and articles of European origin. The mutual hatred and enmity between the Turks and the Knights were set aside in their common economic interests. Thus, for example, in the peace treaty of the 25th of December 1451 between the Knights of St John and the Sultan, Mehmet II the Conqueror, both powers agreed among other matters that the merchants ... should [be free to] travel ... and go about their work and business without hindrance or threat24.

Grand Master J. de Lastic in a document dated the 15th of February 1453 permitted Ibrahim of Mugla to sail freely between Rhodes and Turkey in times of peace and war for the transport of foodstuffs and other goods²⁵. Freedom of trade was also agreed between the Knights and the Soubashi of Petzon (Asia Minor) in the terms of the preliminary peace treaty of November 1481²⁶.

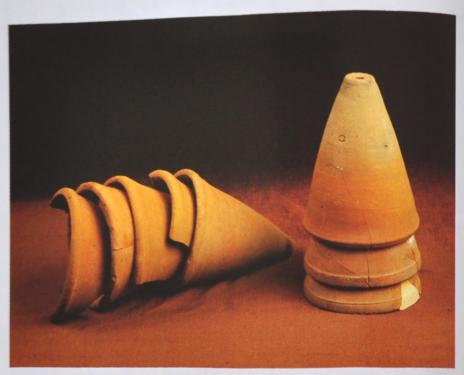
The question of the local population's contribution to the economy of the island under the Knights remains open. Our researches, though their purpose was different, quite by chance turned up just one name, Dragonetto Klavelli²⁷. Banker and feudatory of the Order of the Hospital, Klavelli was one of the most important members of the business community on the island in the late 14th and early 15th c. For the rest, however, we can only speculate about the contribution of the Rhodian community, whether Greek or Frankish, to the island's economy.

The local population, particularly the Greeks who, as a rule, were employed by the Knights either as their representatives or as interpreters in their dealings with the Turks, most probably traded with Asia Minor and were therefore familiar with the language and the country, and had useful contacts among the Ottoman officials. Their own compatriots were also employed by the Turks in embassies and in negotiations with the Knights. The wealth of the Rhodian Greeks, so vividly described by Emmanuel Limenites28 in his long poem, "The Great Plague of Rhodes" (ca. 1500), can only be explained by their active involvement in the commercial life of the island.

The Rhodians who were established in Venice in the late 15th and early 16th c. and are mentioned in the first book of contributions of the Greek community²⁹, may have been mariners and merchants.

Shipping³⁰ was one of the principal sectors of the Rhodian economy. Frankish and Greek ships crowded the harbour of Rhodes. The fleet of the Order not only fought the Muslims, but carried to Rhodes the revenues (responsions) sent to the Grand Master from the priories and commanderies of all Europe. A large part of the crews of Hospitaller ships was made up of Greek Rhodians. The institution of the "servitudo marina"31 or "marinaria" obliged a category of Greek paroikoi to serve in the Order's fleet. This harsh institution had one positive result: it trained the Rhodians and turned them into experienced sailors, so that they were able to voyage to the great harbours of the West in their own ships.

In 1462 Grand Master P. R. Zacosta replaced the "servitudo marina" with an obligation by the *marinarioi* to pay a flour tax (Lat. gabella). It is also fairly certain that a shipping business grew up at Lindos, at



19. Clay receptacles ("cones") used in sugar refining (early 16th c.). Grand Master's Palace, Rhodes.

least from the fourth decade of the 15th c., and that town is known to have possessed well-trained, experienced crews.

On Rhodes, apart from the flourishing tertiary sector of the economy, comprising exchange transactions, commerce and shipping, there were also small weaving, pottery, metal-working and other industries in the city and villages, most of them family operated, although at present we cannot gauge their size, efficiency and influence. The most important Rhodian industries, both of which were state-controlled, were those producing soap³² and sugar. Anyone who wished could manufacture soap in a

state factory by paying a tax.

The quality of Rhodian sugar was reckoned among the finest in the Mediterranean, and was mentioned in ca. 1335 and 1343 by the Florentine merchant F. Balducci Pegolotti³³. The remains of a sugar mill³⁴ for crushing the cane have been found in the district of Charaki on the east coast of the island, south of and below the castle of Pharaklos. There is also evidence that at least one processing and refining plant operated within the city (fig. 19).

We know that at least in the time of Grand Master F. del Carretto (1513-1521) there

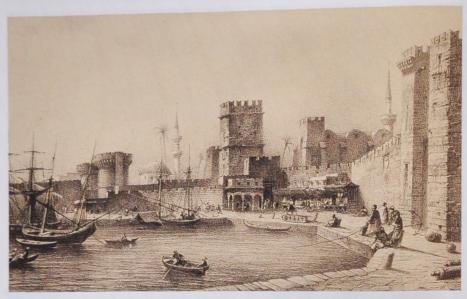


20. Cannon made in Rhodes at the time of Grand Master F. del Carretto (1513-1521).

Grand Master's Palace, Rhodes.

was a state controlled foundry which was even able to produce cannon. In the Constantinople War Museum there is a bronze cannon³⁵ with del Carretto's arms in relief and the inscriptions: F(RATER) F(ABRIZIO) (DEL) (CARRETTO) and MA-NOLI LAMBADI. It is probably the same cannon that was seen in about 1850 by Hedenborg³⁶ on the mole of the tower of St Nicholas and was later mentioned by Picenardi³⁷. There is a large bronze mortar38 with the arms of del Carretto in relief and the signature of the foundryman: MANOLI LAMBADIS. Doubts about whether these metal pieces were actually cast in Rhodes have been dispelled by the inscription on another small bronze cannon (fig. 20)39. It was found in an excavation (1934/5) in the Palace of the Grand Master, and on it can be distinguished the arms of del Carretto in relief, and another Knight, de Villaragut, the relief medallion of the Virgin Enthroned in the type of the Pietà and also the relief inscription $\Gamma E \Omega P \Gamma I O \Sigma$ $\Lambda A M \Pi A \Delta H \Sigma$ ΔE $PO \Delta \Omega$. It is thus highly probable that the Lambadis family lived in Rhodes and manufactured cannon and other metal objects there. It is no less likely that the bronze cannon 40, now lost, which was found at the bottom of Rhodes harbour and also bore F. del Carretto's arms in relief, was made in Rhodes.

J. Bosio⁴¹ tells us that Rhodes produced half the amount of food and goods needed to support its inhabitants. It is not clear whether the shortfall in food production existed throughout the Hospitaller period or only during the latter part. It is probable that the innumerable small and large destructive raids by the Turks in the 15th and early 16th c. had seriously reduced the



21. Commercial harbour (engraving: E. Flandin).

population, and that much of the productive agricultural land in Rhodes was left uncultivated. The Turks often wiped out entire villages and carried off the inhabitants as slaves. Certainly when groups from the persecuted populations of Asia Minor sought refuge in Rhodes, the Knights welcomed them and provided them with land to cultivate⁴².

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

We have no historical information about the social structure and life in Rhodes during the Early Christian and Byzantine periods. To judge from the splendid great buildings that have come to light in both the city and the countryside, and also from the fact that Rhodes was at this time the capital of the Province of the Islands, and thus an important administrative and commercial Aegean centre, we must suppose the existence of the kind of rich social stratification that always arises as the natural consequence of the growth of commerce, shipping and the construction of large public and private works. Two inscriptions, one from Plimmyri43 and the other from Vati44, mention naukleroi, meaning shipowners and shipmasters, in the 5th and 6th c. There is also evidence that Rhodes must have played a large part in the economic life of the Aegean during the Early and Middle Byzantine periods, but that hardly suffices to give us any sort of picture of its social life. The archives⁴⁵ of the Monastery of St John on Patmos are a rich source of information about the islands of Leros and Kos and some of the

small islands, but they hardly make any mention of Rhodes. We know that there were owners of large estates, but not whether they lived in Rhodes or in the other large urban centres of the empire. Theodore Alopos⁴⁶, for example, owned large properties in Rhodes, which he regarded as his home island, but he lived in Constantinople. We have only some indications that members of large wellknown Byzantine families may have had residences in the island, such as Vardas, who also held the office of vestes, and whose name Hedenborg47 saw in an inscription incorporated into the wall of a building close to the Street of the Knights, in the Collachium, where the "archons" probably resided in the Middle Byzantine period. That this family lived in Rhodes is evident from the toponym of that name. The presence in Rhodes of the great Byzantine family of Armenopouloi has recently been confirmed. During an excavation in the medieval city, in Agisandrou St., a painted inscription48 was found in a small cruciform church in the empty space between the Byzantine wall and the Collachium bastion: ΔE(HCIC) KONCTANTINOY / TOY ΑΡΜΕΝΟ/ΠΟΥΛΟΥ.

In contrast to the dearth of historical information from the Early Christian period to the beginning of the 14th c., the time of the Knights is documented by a wealth of historical evidence.

Most of the inhabitants of the city were Greek, but besides them there was a permanent population of merchants, bankers, shipowners, craftsmen, artists and soldiers, who had come from all over Western Europe⁴⁹: Spaniards, Frenchmen, Italians, Englishmen, Germans and others. In the eastern quarter of the walled city lived the Jewish merchants, craftsmen and physicians. A group of Armenians⁵⁰ in Rhodes and Kos lived by trade and

farming. And Rhodes was not without its gypsies51. The great economic growth of the island and the overexpansion of the secondary and tertiary sectors, especially the latter, resulted in a complex social stratification. In the second half of the 15th c., the dawn of the Renaissance, earlier social structures still survived, adding to the number of different classes. The upper class consisted of the Frankish and Greek nobles, feudal proprietors of large estates in the Dodecanese and Europe, and the first class of the Knights, who were themselves noble. Commerce, banking and shipping created a bourgeois class of foreign and local merchants and bankers, who lived and prospered in Rhodes. Next came the petit bourgeois, state employees, craftsmen and others. At the same time a large body of free labourers worked in the sugar, soap, textile and other industries, in the harbour and on the construction works that the Knights carried out on a huge scale. The class of manual workers also included the free agricultural labourers (phrangomanoi, phrangomatoi), the sailors and the soldiers.

These all earned their bread by the plough, oar or spear. The *marinarioi* (marinarii), or sailor class, were obliged to render "servitudo marina" (compulsory naval service). The *paroikoi* lived in the city and the country; they were bound in serfdom to the Order in the name of *parichia*⁵². Lastly came the slaves, the majority of whom were Muslim captives.

The lowest social stratum in Rhodian society, as in all urban communities, was the subproletariat. We know something of the prostitutes, for example, who filled the city in the 15th c. and caused great scandals. On the 3rd of March 1456 Grand Master J. de Milly and his Chapter decided they should be confined to one quarter and prohibited them from living elsewhere⁵³.

By 1478, however, the situation appears to have reverted, because in response to an appeal by the inhabitants of the city, the Chapter General of the Order again decided to restrict the prostitutes, and they were forbidden to live in houses adjoining the homes of virtuous women. But where a prostitute owned her own house⁵⁴, anyone wishing to evict her had to buy the house from her.

The burgeoning of the economy was accompanied, especially in the late 15th and early 16th c., by a decline in morals, which obliged the Grand Master to take steps to restore a measure of propriety among the soldier monks themselves55. A series of decrees⁵⁶ by d'Aubusson in January 1482 imposed severe penalties on adulterers, pimps, pederasts, gamblers, counterfeiters, forgers and others. Some offenses were punishable by burning at the stake⁵⁷. The Cretan savant Nathaniel-Neilos Bertos⁵⁸ described the moral laxity prevailing in Rhodes at the end of the 15th c. in his verses, although perhaps with some exaggeration.

The racial and ethnic diversity and the broad social stratification of the inhabitants of Rhodes under the Knights were reflected in the diversity of their ideologies⁵⁹, a consequence on the one hand of the prevailing economic conditions and state of production, and on the other, of the cultural superstructure of each of the racial and social groups. At the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th c. four broad ideological groups can be distinguished: Frankish, Greek Orthodox, Franko-Greek and Jewish.

The foreign-born Frankish ideology, a mixture of Catholicism, scholastic philosophy and the advanced producer relations of the late Middle Ages, was espoused both by the dominant social classes of Eu-

ropean knights, feudal lords, bankers and big merchants and by the other classes of ordinary soldiers, artisans, craftsmen and the rest who had come from the West to find a better life or simply to earn a living with their hands. The names of some of the European notables who were permanently resident in Rhodes and who played an important part in the social life of the city⁶⁰ have survived. Loffredo Calvi was able to made a loan of 2,000 gold florins to the Order of St John.

In 1462 Azo Gentile was the Grand Master's ambassador at the court of Sultan Mehmet II. Giorgio Imperiale donated his fief of Salaco to Grand Master d'Aubusson in 1480. The Cybo family, of which Pope Innocent VIII was a scion, were Rhodians. Jerome Barbo in 1470 was consul of the Order in Tunisia. In 1391 Niccolino di Lippo was the feudal owner of the village of Lardos in Rhodes. The brothers Bernard and Eduard Saint Maurice were consuls in 1411: the first at Alexandria and the second at Antalya. Also Rhodian were Pietro Lomellino del Campo, Guillaume Caoursin, Thomas Guichard and others.

On Rhodes the Knights encountered another ideology, Greek Orthodoxy, which was hostile to their own. It had been nurtured on Greek tradition and Orthodoxy, but at the same time was rooted in antiquated producer relations and social structures. This ideology permeated virtually the whole Greek population of the Dodecanese in the 14th c. and, as in other Frankish ruled regions, was to a greater or lesser extent an expression of national consciousness and resistance to the Franks. Throughout the period of Hospitaller rule a large portion of the population apparently remained tied to their forefathers' beliefs and did not accept, at least willingly, the spiritual



22. Bowl with incised and painted polychrome decoration (second half of 15th c.).

Grand Master's Palace, Rhodes.

leadership of the Uniate Metropolitan of Rhodes.

We know, for example, that in 1471 the metropolitan denounced certain of the monks for not commemorating the Pope's or his own name⁶¹. Furthermore, the text

of the agreement⁶² between Ubaldini and the metropolitan in 1474 makes direct mention of popular turmoil arising from the religious question. In 1476 Grand Master Orsini, shortly before he died, banished many of the monks who were inflaming the common people, according to Bosio⁶³.

A few months afterwards, on the 8th of January 1477, fresh bloody disturbances broke out in the city due to the same cause⁶⁴. It seems that as time passed the only people left in this ideological faction, which at the beginning of Hospitaller rule had embraced nearly the whole Greek population of the Dodecanese, were the ordinary downtrodden city and country folk and some of the lower clergy.

A large part of the Greek bourgeoisie, finding this a favourable climate, slowly became reconciled to the new state of affairs.

As in other Frankish-occupied parts of Greece, a new, Franko-Greek ideology appeared and a new attitude grew up towards the Europeans, which fostered harmonious relations between the Greeks and the ruling establishment, and also enabled them to attain high social positions and coveted honours in its service. They retained their religious beliefs, habits, customs and language without losing touch with their traditions, history and race, or their links with their roots. At the same time, however, they accepted the political supremacy of the Franks and, most importantly for them, the new ideas and producer relations of the West. This new ideology appears to have spread and to have received acceptance among a section at least of the Rhodian clergy and burgesses in the third decade of the 15th c., when the Rhodian Church approved the Union of Churches after the Council of Ferrara and Florence (1438-1439). The agreement signed in July 1474 by the Latin Archbishop, Ubaldini, and the Metropolitan of Rhodes, Metrophanes, clearly defined the relations between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches and also indirectly the political rules between the Knights and the Greeks. The text of the agreement affirmed the supremacy of the Latin Church

and the Grand Master over the Orthodox Church, but the religious beliefs, traditions, habits and customs of the Greek Rhodian population were not affected⁶⁵. The good relations that existed at this time between the Greek burgesses and the Knights are apparent from the fact that in 1478 the Greeks requested from the Chapter General⁶⁶ that their sons might become members of the Order of St John the request was not granted, however, under the pretext that it was not permitted by the statutes of the Order.

With no obstacles now in their way, the Greeks began in the 15th c. to attain wealth and social preferment. The good relations between the Franks and the Greeks, as well as the Knights' respect for the ability and astuteness of the local people, are apparent from the fact that, amongst other things, the Knights frequently entrusted them with delicate missions: John Philos⁶⁷ was part of the embassy sent in 1478 to the ruler of Tunis; in 1483 George Giaxes⁶⁸ escorted Djem, the Ottoman refugee prince, to Rome; John Exarchos⁶⁹, a prudent, discreet and reserved man, according to Western texts, in 1495 went as ambassador to the Beylerbey of the East and the Sultan and, in 1500, he served as representative of the Order to Bayazet II; in 1502 Kyriakos Koures⁷⁰ was Grand Master d'Aubusson's ambassador to Korkut, Bayazet II's son; in 1460 the priest Demetrius Nomophylakas⁷¹ was sent to Turkey to negotiate the preliminaries for a peace treaty between the Knights and Sultan Mehmet II; in 1481 Grand Master P. d'Aubusson sent the Rhodian Moschos Prepianos⁷² to the Soubashi of Petzon to negotiate a provisional peace treaty; in 1483 Moschos Prepianos⁷³ went to Constantinople as the Grand Master's consul; the members of the commission which negotiated with Suleiman the terms for the surrender of Rhodes included two Greeks74, Nicholas Vergotes and Petros Synkletikos.

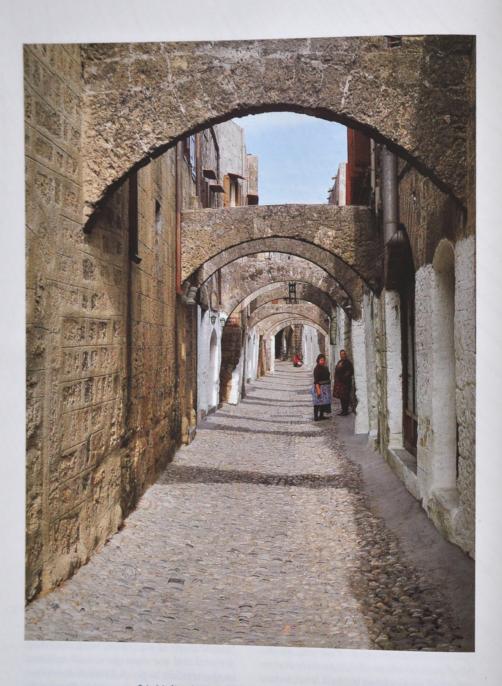


23. Plate with painted polychrome decoration of "Renaissance" type (early 16th c.).

Grand Master's Palace, Rhodes.

The presence of Jews⁷⁵ or a Jewish community in Rhodes can be traced back to the middle of the 2nd c. BC. The Jews⁷⁶ lived apart in the eastern end of the city. Persecuted as everywhere else, they were closely sealed off and isolated by their faith, habits and customs. In 1166 the Jewish merchant

and traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, found a Jewish community of some 500 persons in Rhodes. In 1481 Rhodes was visited by the Jew, Voltera Meshoullam, who described the city and the damage it had suffered in the terrible siege of 1480. Some years later, in 1488, the Italian rabbi Ovadia de



24. Medieval street (modern Ayiou Phanouriou St.).

Bertinoro, in a letter from Palestine to his family, gives interesting details about the Jewish community of Rhodes. Among other things, he wrote that Jewish wives were excellent weavers and that their principal customers were the Knights.

One of the most repulsive acts of the Knights during the whole of their rule was their attempt in 1502 to solve the "Jewish problem" in the Dodecanese once and for all⁷⁷. A decree of the 9th of January of that year ordered all adult Jews to be baptised. Those who refused to do so within 40 days were forced to sell their possessions and leave for Nice in Provence. If they did not do this, they would be sold as slaves and their possessions auctioned. Their children would be compulsorily baptised.

There also lived in the city of Rhodes a community of slaves, prostitutes and pimps, labourers, sailors and artisans; these were in addition to the rich, sophisticated, aristocratic and bourgeois Franks and Greeks, who enjoyed hawking with the famous Rhodian falcons⁷⁸ and strolling through the island's celebrated gardens.

Emmanuel Limenites gives us a picture of the society and the atmosphere in which it lived in his poem "The Great Plague of Rhodes" 79.

Many are dressed in silk, velvet and camelhair, heavily embroidered, sporting wide sleeves, all kinds of stockings – also embroidered – and pointed shoes, beautifully fashioned.... (Limenites, lines 582-585).

Their angelic bodies (the women's) were clad in the very finest of fabrics from the West, some of them wearing velvets and camelhair with sleeves embroidered with pearls. (Limenites, lines 123-125). ...the fillet on the forehead set with precious stones and the hairnet with pearls. Others wore gold chains, as heavy as they could afford. (Limenites, lines 132-135).

> ...I saw some wearing slippers costing, at a fair estimate, thirty gold coins, for they were embroidered with gold thread and bedecked with pearls. (Limenites, lines 152-155).

The life of the Rhodian burghers in the time of the Knights does not appear to have differed from that in Heraklion in Crete, Limassol and Famagusta in Cyprus and similar urban centres of Western Europe. Its complex ethnological, ideological and social stratification was the product of an evolved urban economy and society and of intense activity in every field at the frontiers of East and West.

SOCIAL WELFARE

We mentioned above that the "hospitaller" (hospitalarius) was not only responsible for the care of the sick in the hospital, but was also the head of other services which attended to the poor, widows, orphans and those struck by misfortune in general. These services were organised on a philanthropic basis, as in all medieval societies, and worked together with the Church as safety valves for the ruling classes to prevent as far as they could the growth of antisocial fringe elements.

By the last quarter of the 12th c. we find the office of custos elemosine or elemosinarius, who cared for the destitute already established⁸⁰. A resolution⁸¹ of the Chapter General in 1182 laid down the methods of relief for the poor. Newlyweds, for example, received a gift on their wedding day. Prisoners were given 12 deniers on their

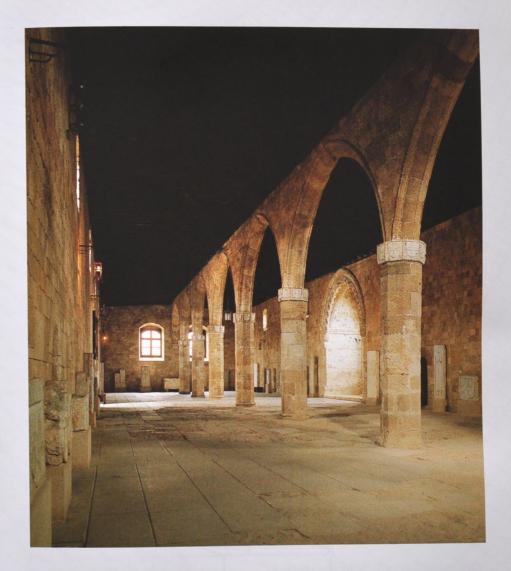


25. Main courtyard of the Hospital of the Knights (Archaeological Museum).

release to help them start a new life. The same resolution ordered that thirty paupers, five of them clergy, should be fed at the hospital. In addition, three times a week, whoever wished would be given food, bread and wine. Each Saturday in Lent thirteen paupers, including three clergy, having washed their feet, dined, put on new clothes and received a small sum of money. A workshop under the supervision of the elemosinarius repaired old shoes

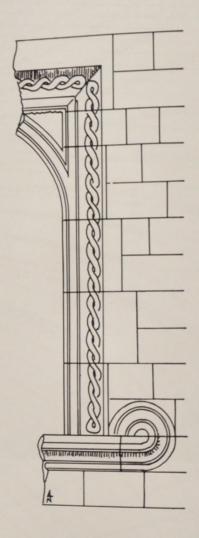
and clothes, which were donated to the poor. The Chapter General of 1182 further decided that orphans should be brought up in the hospital.

It is also probable that the service of sanitas, which took measures for public health and to combat the epidemics that were so frequent in the Middle Ages, was under the authority of the hospitaller.



26. The great infirmary ward of the Hospital of the Knights (Archaeological Museum).

CULTURAL LIFE AND THE ARTS



CULTURAL LIFE

Our knowledge of the cultural life and literary figures in Rhodes during the medieval period preceding the Knights is fragmentary.

We do not know, for example, whether the learned hagiographer and monk John of Rhodes1, who lived in the 9th c. and wrote the Life of St Artemius, was educated or even lived in Rhodes. In the 10th c. Constantine the Rhodian² lived in Constantinople and held the post of a secretis at the Palace. He is known for his ekphrasis about the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, written in iambic trimeters and commissioned by the emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus. He also wrote epigrams about an icon and a cross, which he presented to his native town, Lindos, although he probably played no part in the cultural life of Rhodes since he lived away from it. There is, however, some evidence3 that in 11th c. Rhodes it was possible to teach rhetoric and philosophy.

John, the Metropolitan of Rhodes⁴, originally a monk in the Monastery of St John on Patmos, wrote a biography of Hosios Christodoulos, the monastery's founder, in about the middle of the 12th c.

Neilos, abbot of the Rhodian Monastery of John the Theologian of Artamitis at the end of the 12th c., is known as the author of two codices in the Patmos Monastery (nos 175 and 743)⁵, to which he dedicated them in 1180. In 1181 he made a calligraphic copy of the Book of Gospels⁶, now kept in the Church of the Holy Cross in the Rhodian village of Apollona.

According to Byzantine scholar, Nicephorus Blemmydes, who visited it in about 1233, the Monastery of Artamitis⁷ had an extensive library⁸.

The author of codex 207 in the Patmos Monastery (1223) was Ioannes Kassianos⁹, precentor of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Rhodes.

From the beginning of the 14th c. the Knights and other Franks who resided in Rhodes or who visited it, introduced the new European ideas about life, man, art and literature.

A small circle of scholars and artists, both Frankish and Greek, congregated at the Grand Master's court as they did at the courts of the Pope and other European rulers. We can draw a faint picture of the Grand Master's entourage from F. de Heredia's court during the few years he stayed in Rhodes between 1379 and 1382. Heredia¹⁰ is regarded by historians of

the Order of St John as one of the most thoughtful early Renaissance scholars, as well as an able soldier and political leader. He was a Renaissance homo universalis, who studied Greek and Latin classical literature and kept in touch with famous Italian humanists like Coluccio Salutati. He commissioned the translation into Aragonese, his mother tongue, of part of Plutarch's "Lives". Thucydides' "Speeches", passages from the "History of Troy" by Guido de Columnis, the works of the Latin historian Eutropius and others. In his literary and historiographic aspirations he was greatly assisted in Rhodes by two Greeks11: the Rhodian, George Kalokyres, who was a public notary from 1348 and deeply versed in Greek and Latin, and Demetrios Kalodikes from Thessalonica, referred to in Spanish writings of the period as the "Philosopho griego". The latter sought out Greek manuscripts for Heredia and translated Plutarch's "Lives" into contemporary Greek. Kalodikes' text was used by Heredia's friend, the Dominican Nicholas, to translate Plutarch into Aragonese. Nicholas, titular bishop of Dryinopolis, lived in Rhodes from 1380 onwards, and after 1384 performed the duties of Vicar to the Latin Archbishop of Rhodes.

Heredia esteemed Kalodikes for his learning and rewarded his services with a decree in 1382 exempting his children from the "servitudo marina" (compulsory naval service) and bestowed various offices on him. Kalodikes died in 1389. Heredia is known for his two large composite works12, the "Grant Cronica d'España" (Grand Chronicle of Spain) and the "Cronica de los Conqueridores" (Chronicle of the Conquerors). The second and more important work reveals his wide learning and interest in Greece and its history. His chronicle includes a large section of Byzantine history from the year 780 to 1118, for which his chief source was John

Zonaras. He also tried to give a picture of Frankish-held Peloponnese, drawing on the "Chronicle of the Morea" and eyewitness accounts of events.

In around 1414 Ch. Buondelmonti came to Rhodes, where, according to his own¹³ account, he remained for eight years with the purpose of learning Greek. He also spent another six years visiting the Aegean islands and collecting Greek manuscripts. After fourteen years of study and travel he wrote his book, "Liber insularum Archipelagi", in which he gives short descriptions of the Greek islands and a vague picture of their cultural, economic and social circumstances, which is, however, often inaccurate.

Guillaume Caoursin¹⁴ was born in Flanders in 1430 to parents of Rhodian origin. He was a brilliant scholar and was made a doctor of the University of Paris. He was considered one of the cleverest and most cultured men living in Rhodes at the time. He was familiar with Aristotle, Homer and Virgil and apparently knew both Greek and Roman history. In 1459, although not a knight, he was made vicechancellor and occupied this post until his death in 1503. The Knights repeatedly employed him on diplomatic missions to Europe. He wrote an account of the siege of Rhodes by the Turks in 1480. Descriptions by him have also survived of the great catastrophic earthquake in Rhodes in 1481, of the arrival in Rhodes and stay on the island of the Ottoman prince and brother of Sultan Bayazet, Djem or Zizim. On the orders of Grand Master d'Aubusson, Caoursin collected the laws and edicts of the Knights into one codex with the title "Stabilimenta Rhodiorum Militum"15, which soon afterwards was translated into French. On Caoursin's educational work in Rhodes we have the account of the Latin Archbishop



27. Great Council Chamber (?). Grand Master's Palace (cod. Par. lat. 6067, fol. 3v) (1483-1489).

Marco Montanus¹⁶, who dedicated to him the speech he pronounced on the occasion of the election of Pope Alexander VI Borgia, because Montanus had been taught his letters by him and on his recommendation had studied at the University of Paris.

The Knight Benvenuto San Giorgio, who lived in Rhodes from at least 1480, wrote a Latin history of Montferrat, and in 1516 the Grand Master and Chapter conferred on him the title of Grand Cross (Magnus Crux) in honour of his services, culture and learning.

In the first decade of the 16th c. the Knight Sabba da Castiglione¹⁷, a refined, romantic, restless and at the same time eccentric soul, collected ancient works of art in Rhodes on behalf of Isabella Gonzaga d'Este. An admirer of ancient literature and art, he described his fellow-Knights, with some exaggeration, as barbarians, saying that all they knew was how to use the lance, sword, shield and bow, and that he himself was looked on as almost a heretic because of his fondness for ancient relics. His book, entitled "Ricordi", was regarded at the time as an important work.

The humanist Francesco Maturanzio¹⁸ from Perugia stayed in Rhodes (1472-1474). After his studies in Italy he decided to go to Greece and study Greek with the correct pronunciation. He preferred Rhodes, considering it safer than Crete (he was afraid of Turkish raids), where he had originally wanted to go to study under the renowned Michael Apostoles. His Greek teacher in Rhodes was the Metropolitan Metrophanes, whom he later recalled with gratitude. While there, he wrote three poems in Latin dedicated to the Virgin Mary, one especially for the Virgin of Philerimos.

The transient visits to Rhodes under the Knights, short though they were, of humanists and Western European scholars, are sufficient proof of the existence of a civilised climate acceptable to educated and cultivated men like Kyriakos of Ancona¹⁹, Guarino Guarini de Verona²⁰, and the distinguished English Hellenist and Latinist William Lily²¹. In the Bodleian Library at Oxford there is a codex²² with the work of the Latin author Vegetius (4th c. AD), "De re militari" in an English translation made in Rhodes by Johannes Newton in 1459.

Andrea d'Amaral²³, the great traitor, was deeply versed in the writings of Pliny.

Pietro Lomellino del Campo²⁴ and J. Fontanus²⁵, eyewitnesses of the second great Ottoman siege of Rhodes in 1522, wrote accounts of it. The work of the first was unfortunately lost, but J. Bosio writes that he saw and consulted it²⁶. The latter's book, "De bello Rhodio", has survived. Accounts of the 1522 siege are also recorded by the Spanish Knight Don Juan Antonis de Foxan²⁷ and Jacques Bétard de Bourbon²⁸. And a short poem in Italian about the 1522 siege is attributed to the Rhodian Georgio Falconetti²⁹.

Thomas Guichard³⁰ was Doctor of Law. The Knights sent him on an embassy to Pope Clement VII, and the speech he delivered on that occasion is considered an important document for the history of the Order. He followed the Knights to Crete after their flight from Rhodes and died at the age of 25 or 26 at Viterbo in Italy, where the Knights halted temporarily.

The Venetian, Liberalis Thomaseus³¹, described on his grave-stone as a physician and philosopher, died and was buried in Rhodes. Along with 28 other Greek and Latin burghers³² in 1510 he signed

a contract for the engagement and remuneration of a teacher for the Rhodian children.

In addition to the two literary collaborators of Grand Master Heredia mentioned above – George Kalokyres and Demetrios Kalodikes – the names of other Greek scholars in the period of Hospitaller rule are known, like Agapetos Kassianos³³, who was falconer to the Knights. He wrote "Hierakosophion", a book on the care and training of falcons for sport. The book has not survived, but it was a principal source for Jean de Fransières' "Traité de fauconnerie" (1469).

The monk Eleutherios³⁴, whose manuscript history of Rhodes under the Knights was seen by Rottiers in 1826, lived in the first half of the 16th c.

Emmanuel Limenites³⁵ of Georgillas wrote two long poems, "The Great Plague of Rhodes" and the "Historical Account of Belisarius". A third one, "The Fall of Constantinople", is also attributed to him. These three long poems, written in iambic hexameter couplets, have little literary merit. They are generally verbose and uninspired. The first is the most interesting because it describes the hardships of the Rhodians during the plague of 1498-1500, hardships which the poet himself experienced. At the same time it gives an extensive picture of the morals, customs and social life of Rhodes at the end of the 15th c.

Neilos Diasorinos³⁶, Metropolitan of Rhodes from 1357 to 1369, was a Rhodian. He wrote polemics, saints' lives, grammars and other works.

The most important Rhodian poetical text from this period is a collection of poems contained in a manuscript codex

in the British Museum (Add. Man. 8241), written in the 15th c., with the title "Καταλόγια - Στίχοι περί έρωτος και αγάπης" ("Katalogia - Verses on love and desire")³⁷. It consists of 110 or 112 poems written in non-rhyming iambic hexameter couplets divided into six groups: three alphabetic or acrostic poems from A to Ω , century poems containing the numbers 1 to 100, and two more groups of love songs.

There are two problems about these poems. The first is their provenance: whether they were Rhodian, as their first publisher claimed, or whether they came from another island in Frankish-occupied Greece. The second is whether they were the work of one poet or a collection of medieval folksongs. Their Rhodian provenance has been questioned by many, but the philologist Christos Papachristodoulou has demonstrated, it is thought that their language is a medieval Rhodian dialect38. Although the second problem still remains open, most scholars agree that the poems are the work of a single sensitive, cultured poet who was so close to the common people that he did not hesitate to borrow entire folk verses in order to express his sentiments.

The last Metropolitan of Rhodes under the Knights, Clement39 (1511-1522), was an active, cultivated man. He had connections with the famous Greek humanist and collaborator of Pope Leo X, Janus Lascaris, and corresponded with him. Clement also supplied Lascaris with manuscripts. In his book Fontanus quoted the speech which Clement made to the Rhodians to hearten them and persuade them to work together with the Knights to repel the Turks in 1522. This speech is a testimony to the Rhodian prelate's high intellect. Fontanus describes him as a man who was capable, prudent, blameless in his private life and eloquent of speech.



28. First page of the manuscript of "Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio" by G. Caoursin (cod. Par. lat. 6067, fol. 1v) (1483-1489).

The high intellectual level of the Rhodian prelates is borne out by the Metropolitan Metrophanes⁴⁰, who taught the humanist Maturanzio Greek. Nicetas Myrsiniotes⁴¹, the most learned among the priests, was also apparently a Rhodian. He corresponded with the anti-Latin writer Joseph Vryennios. Myrsiniotes was concerned with theological questions, and a treatise of his has survived on the procession of the Holy Spirit. He lived in Rhodes at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th c.

The security Rhodes offered, the island's glorious past and the more or less cultured ambience attracted Greek scholars and literati from other parts of Greece, who resided on the island for longer or shorter periods.

In 1362 the "philosopher" George was in Rhodes; this was the famous physician and author George Kydones Gavrielopoulos⁴², with whom Demetrios Kydones corresponded. He did not live permanently in Rhodes, but travelled about between Syria, Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, the Peloponnese and Genova.

Constantine Lascaris⁴³, famous for his "Grammatike", fled from Constantinople to Rhodes after 1453, and remained there until about 1458; he copied three codices and acquired others through gifts and purchases.

Another Constantinopolitan who fled to Rhodes after the fall of the capital was the copyist George Eugenikos⁴⁴, who in 1468/69 copied works of a Byzantine writer for a certain Leo.

In around 1480 the Cretan monk and priest Nathaniel-Neilos Bertos⁴⁵ lived and wrote in Rhodes. Here he composed in the popular idiom a "versification" of 1395 non-rhyming hexameters which bore

a great similarity to "The Great Plague of Rhodes" by Emmanuel Limenites. He describes vividly but with much exaggeration the society of his time, which, according to him, had abandoned Christian moral precepts and lived in luxury and sin. Dissolute living, prostitution, profiteering and immorality were, according to Bertos, the predominant elements in the social life of Rhodes, but he may also have had in mind the society of his native island of Crete.

Another Cretan was George Kalyvas⁴⁶, who lived in Rhodes at the beginning of the 16th c. and, after the capture of the island by the Turks, settled in Crete. He wrote a history of the final siege and fall of Rhodes, an essay on the Transfiguration of Christ, questions and answers about fifty theological questions, as well as other works. Also Cretan was the copyist and physician Antonios Kalosynas⁴⁷ who was himself an eyewitness of the 1522 siege, in which the distinguished Corfiot humanist Antonios Eparchos⁴⁸ also took part.

On the 7th of August 1493 the codex Par. Gr. 1612 was completed by the "Rhodian reader and semi-literate writer"49, about whom no further details are known. In about 1500 Philip the Rhodian⁵⁰ wrote the codex Lond. Royal 16, containing the works of Plato and Aristotle. Neilos⁵¹, the Metropolitan of Rhodes, copied in a 15th c. Madrid codex John Damascene's "Logic". This was probably Neilos II (1455-1470). Also probably Rhodian was the priest Gregorios⁵² who in 1441 copied two codices. The manuscripts are in the Church of the Virgin at Lindos.

At the beginning of the 16th c. a French Knight by the name of Fra Noël de la Broue⁵³ copied in a codex various popular writings, poetical and prose, and pieces of verse by the Cretan poet Stephanos

Sachlikes. It was not unusual for Western Europeans at this period in Rhodes to speak and write in Greek⁵⁴, which the Knights often used when they were addressing the Greek population, corresponding with the Ottomans or concluding written agreements with them.

A 15th c. note in codex 508 in the Munich Library⁵⁵, written by the Rhodian priest John Marmaras, mentions eleven manuscript codices. He also implies that he possessed a library with a respectable number of books for the time.

At Lindos, which was apparently the second town in size after Rhodes city, twenty manuscript codices are preserved in the Church of the Virgin⁵⁶. Only eight of them predate the capture of Rhodes (1522), and only one of these is known with certainty to have been in the possession of the church since 1598.

It is not at all certain that the famous library of St John the Theologian at Artamitis, which was seen and admired by Nicephorus Blemmydes⁵⁷, existed at the time of the Knights.

We know little about the organisation of education on the island or about its quality. The fact that cultivated Franks and Greeks lived in the city and that even private citizens possessed libraries shows that some form of education existed. This is confirmed by Buondelmonti's remark that he came to Rhodes to learn Greek⁵⁸. It is probable that in the 14th and 15th c. there were private schools or that wealthy families employed private tutors for their children, as was usual at that time in other Latin-controlled parts of Greece⁵⁹. The Metropolitan Metrophanes⁶⁰ appears to have instructed Francesco Maturanzio in Greek "in a private capacity" and not as a teacher in a "public school".

On the 13th of December 1510 Rhodian burghers⁶¹ (Lat. burgenses), both Greek and Latin, appeared before the Chapter of the Order and requested the state to assume the cost of the salary of a teacher to educate the Greek and Latin children of Rhodes, rich and poor alike.

As a result the Order decided to allocate 150 florins per year for this purpose. Since, however, this sum was thought to be inadequate, the Grand Master volunteered to pay an extra 50 florins from his own purse. At the same time the citizens who had made the request agreed to collect another 100 florins per year by private contributions for a period of two years. The contract62 was signed by twenty-nine persons: eleven Greeks and eighteen Latins. Among the latter was the Catholic Archbishop of Rhodes, Leonardo Balestrinis, and the undersecretary of the Order, Bartolomeo Poliziano. This was followed by a letter from Grand Master E. d'Amboise⁶³, inviting a teacher from Famagusta, Matheo Lauro, to come to Rhodes to teach for the above remuneration.

The central authority of the Knights not only supported the effort of the Rhodian citizens to found a "public school" in the city, but also ensured that members of the Order or civil servants had at their disposal the necessary means for higher studies abroad.

Thus in 1471 Laudivio Zacchia⁶⁴ was received into the ranks of the Order, which then granted him a bursary to study for eight years at Bologna or some other university on condition that he return to Rhodes after the completion of his studies to offer his services to the state. Later, on the 8th of May 1507, the lieutenant of the Grand Master granted three or four months paid leave to the physician of the Hospital of Rhodes, Iakovos⁶⁵, to go to Crete and study Greek there.

It is difficult to form an opinion about the aesthetic perceptions and cultural level of the Greek Rhodians under the Franks from the few literary works dating to the Hospitaller period that have survived (Emmanuel Limenites' two or three poems and the "Καταλόγια - Στίχοι περί έρωτος και αγάπης").

We can, however, try to identify the directions and choices of this poetry, and trace in it the traditional, respected values in the attitude of Rhodian society towards the changes taking place within and around it, brought about by new political, social and economic conditions.

Rhodes in the time of the Knights was open to all the social, economic and artistic currents of the Late Gothic and Early Renaissance periods. The Rhodians were a society that welcomed and absorbed from the outside whatever they considered useful and appropriate. This was made clear above in the view of socio-economic developments, and shall again be encountered during the examination of the island's architecture and painting.

Nevertheless, the unknown poet who wrote the "Καταλόγια - Στίχοι περί έρωτος και αγάπης" turned to the local folk poetry based on the octosyllabic or fifteensyllable distich when he wanted to express his sentiments about love, sentiments which approached those of the Western European urban originals in the Late Gothic period and elevated women to the point of worship.

In Limenites' poems the persistence of the Greek tradition alongside the Rhodian poet's awareness of the new political circumstances emerges even more clearly. He accepts the authority of the Knights and the Pope, and he describes the imported Frankish social life in Rhodes, the sump-

tuous attire of the men and women and their revelries. At the same time he counsels sobriety, fasting, prayers and respect for religious rules. The themes of his poems are also taken from the Greek world, such as the life and amours of the Byzantine general Belisarius, the Fall of Constantinople and the plague on the island of Rhodes.

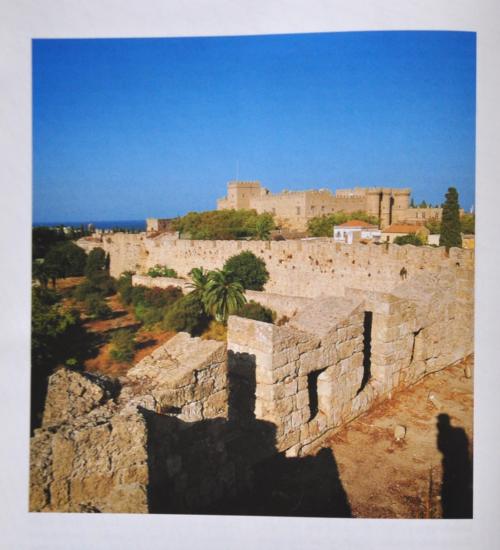
His language is the Rhodian Greek dialect and his poems are written in iambic hexameter, rhyming popular verse, which greatly appealed to the eclectic taste of the local Greek urban populace. This is neither strange nor unique. The Greeks in other regions under Frankish rule expressed themselves in the same or a similar fashion.

ARCHITECTURE

The Fortifications of the Medieval City

Arab historical sources tell us that in the last quarter of the 7th c. there was a fortress on Rhodes⁶⁶ where the population took refuge during enemy incursions. If we can trust their account that, in about 653, Abu 'l Awar, commanding an Arab fleet from Syria, landed on Kos⁶⁷ and captured the "fortress" after it had been betrayed by the island's bishop, then we must suppose that Rhodes also had a garrison after the middle of the 7th c., although there is no mention of it by Byzantine chroniclers⁶⁸ in their descriptions of its capture by Mu-awiya (653/4).

Recent excavations not only confirm the Arab historians' report that there was a fortress in the city of Rhodes in the second half of the 7th c.⁶⁹, but have even located it. It was discovered that the 7th c. Early Byzantine enceinte enclosed only the area known as Collachium in the time of the



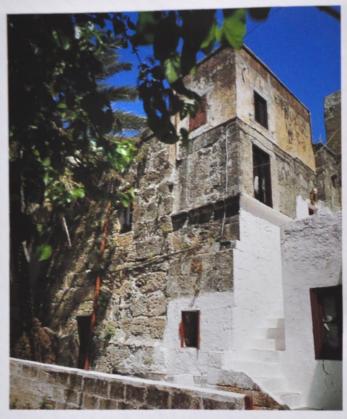
29. The ramparts in the sector of the Tongue of Germany. In the background the Grand Master's Palace.



30. The ramparts in the sector of the Tongue of Germany. In the background the bastion of St George.

Knights. On its south side, with the advance wall and dry moat (plans I-II, no. 56), the wall was strengthened with irregularly spaced rectangular towers (plan II, nos 6 and 8-14). There were two gates in the middle of the length of wall and advance wall, one on the wall and one on the advance wall. Today Lachitos St. passes through them (plan I). Until recently it was believed that the Early Byzantine advance wall had been built by the Knights⁷⁰ to divide the city into two parts, the Collachium and the Burgh. The

site of the Palace of the Grand Master was occupied by the acropolis (plan II, no. 39). The wall is of ashlar construction, with courses ca. 0.50 m high and a thickness of up to 3.20 m. It is probable that in this period, if the Arab sources are correct, part of the settlement lay outside the enceinte and during enemy attacks the population took refuge in the "fortress". It used to be thought that the area of the medieval city, known as Collachium in Hospitaller times was the "lower acropolis" of ancient Rhodes. Earlier investigators thought that

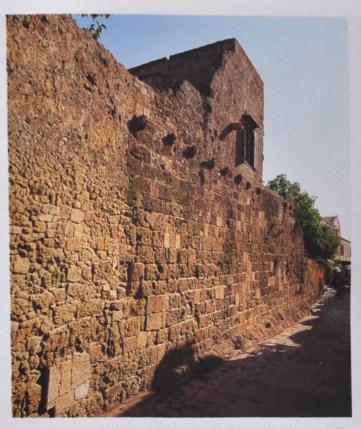


31. House of the Hospitaller period built on a tower of the Collachium wall (Byzantine period).

the Early Byzantine fortifications (wall and towers) (plan II, nos 6-14 and 56) on the south and east sides of the "fortress" and the north side of the Palace of the Grand Master were the work of the ancient Rhodians, from which it followed that there existed a fortified "lower acropolis" enclosed by the outer Hellenistic enceinte. I. Kontis⁷² was the first to reject this theory, maintaining that the "lower acropolis" was imaginary and that the "fortification" were retaining walls. Our view is further supported by the fact that, apart from other factors, the fortifications are Early Byzan-

tine and not Hellenistic, and that none of the ancient historical sources make any mention of a "lower acropolis". If such an important feature of the city plan as a second acropolis had existed, this silence on their part would seem inexplicable.

Later, we do not know when, the defenses were extended southward, acquired the shape of a slightly irregular rectangle with its long sides on east and west and short ones on north and south, encompassing the part of the settlement that had been outside the walls (plan I). It is a fact, how-



32. Section of the ramparts of the Byzantine fortress. Collachium wall of the Hospitaller period.

ever, that when the Knights set foot in Rhodes in 1306, they found the fortification wall in this latter form⁷³, encircling the whole settlement.

Theophanes⁷⁴ and George Cedrenus⁷⁵, writing briefly about the seizure of Rhodes by Harun al Rashid's fleet in 807, add that the corsairs pillaged the island but were unable to take its fortress. It is not clear whether by the term "fortress" the Byzantine historians meant a walled town or a castle in which the population took refuge in times of danger. We thus do not know

whether at the beginning of the 9th c. Rhodes still had the earlier 7th c. enceinte or whether this had already been enlarged.

The conclusion drawn from the excavations was that at the end of the 11th c. or during the course of the 12th the 7th c. rampart⁷⁶ was repaired. Probably at that time the enceinte was extended south to encompass the part of the settlement that had been outside the walls. It was just at this time when the strategic position⁷⁷ of the island acquired a new importance. The Crusader armies put in at its harbour on



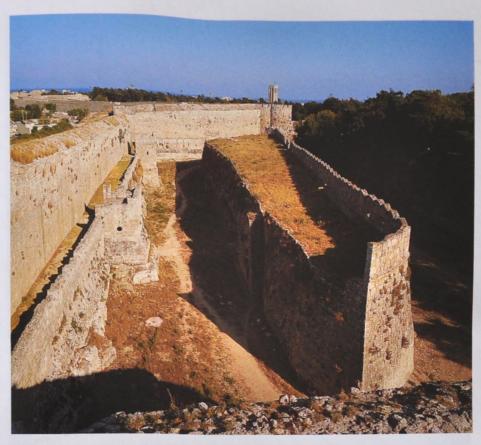
33. Remains of Byzantine fortification.

their way to Palestine, and the Venetians established a trading station there. An increase in currency movement is apparent, evidence of economic prosperity.

We know that when the army of the Nicene emperor, John Vatatzes, tried to subdue Leo Gavalas, the rebellious ruler of Rhodes, in 1233, he had to besiege a fortified city⁷⁸. Later on, in 1248, the Genoese seized the city⁷⁹ at a moment when it was left undefended and the Byzantine army only retook it with difficulty in 1249-1250. It also cost the Knights of St John

much trouble and three years of hard endeavour to finally capture this strongly fortified city (1306-1309)80.

The defenses of the Byzantine city have been established with reasonable accuracy (plan I). The east side, running north from the Gate of the Arsenal followed the line of the harbour wall, a section of which has remained exactly the same as it was then, up to the rectangular tower at the northeast gate of the Collachium⁸¹. Continuing southwards, it crossed modern Sokratous St. and, perhaps with a few

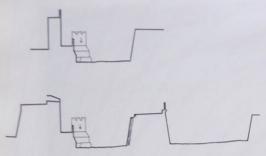


34. The ramparts in the sector of the Tongue of England.

small bends, arrived at Sophokleous Sq., part of whose eastern edge it bounds; it then passed into Pythagora St. 82 (fig. 33, plan I, no. 15) and continued as far as Omirou St. The line of the southern fortifications and of part of those on the west, up to the southwest tower of the Collachium, are known with a degree of probability. The former followed modern Omirou St. and the second modern Ippodamou St.; thence it reached the southwest tower of the Collachium, where a clock-

tower stands today. From there, the west side of the enceinte ran northwards as far as the palace, the wall of which, between areas 3-6 and 9-10 (plan IV), formed its termination. The north side of the Byzantine fortification roughly followed the line of the Hospitaller wall.

It is almost certain that the Collachium together with the site of the Grand Master's Palace was fortified at the end of the 7th c. But we do not yet know when the



35. Section through the defenses in the 14th and first half of the 15th c. (above), and in the second half of the 15th and early 16th c. (below).

rest of the settlement was fortified and the tripartite division of the Byzantine city was established.

L. Ciacci's view83 that after the middle of the 6th c. a fortress was built whose north side coincided with the south side of the Collachium is unacceptable; the latter, in that case, would have been outside the town walls. The Italian scholar overlooks the fact that, if his theory were correct. nearly all of the harbour would have been unfortified and the hill of the Grand Master's Palace, the highest point in the medieval city, instead of being a help to the defending Rhodians, would have assisted the attackers. Most important of all, however, Ciacci failed to notice that the surviving towers of the earlier south wall of the Collachium face south (plans I-II) towards the interior of the city as Ciacci imagines it, instead of facing north, as would have been the case if he were right.

In 1275 the governor of the island⁸⁴ employed prisoners to repair the moat and city defenses. In the early years of Hospitaller rule, the Byzantine enceinte was repaired and strengthened. Later, however, new defense works replaced parts of it, and by the middle of the 15th c. very little of the wall from the period before the Knights survived, the city having at least quadrupled in size (fig. 1, plan I).

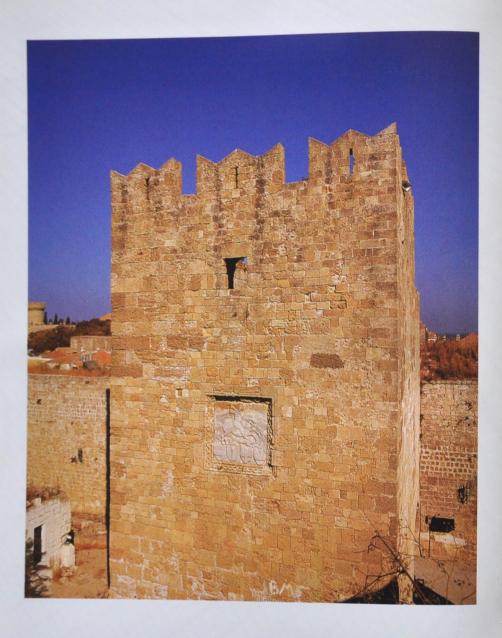
The earliest evidence for the Hospitaller fortification works is the account by Ludolf de Suchen⁸⁵, who visited Rhodes in the time of Grand Master H. de Villeneuve. He observed great building operations on the walls and in the city generally. Villeneuve's coat of arms, the only testimony to his building activities, can be seen on the south face of the southeast gate of the Collachium86. Of the work of his successors before F. de Heredia, no signs have survived on the walls. A single archival source mentions that D. de Gozon87 constructed the harbour mole and the sea wall. He probably repaired the existing Hellenistic harbour mole (fig. 11) and by replacing part of the eastern Byzantine wall, extended the enceinte to encompass the whole of the harbour, at the same time enlarging the city.

The Life of St Phanourios says that in the time of the Metropolitan Neilos Diasorinos (1357-1369) the "ruler" of Rhodes decided to "rebuild the walls of the country" 88, and gave orders for construction material to be taken from the ruined buildings to the south of the city; to my mind, this is a reference to Hospitaller efforts to extend the city eastwards in the mid-14th c.

Heredia and his successor, Ph. de Naillac, repaired and strengthened the walls and towers of the harbour. A. Fluviã, and later J. de Lastic, enlarged the land wall.



36. Fort St Nicholas.



37. The old tower at the heart of the Bastion of St George.

The work was continued by J. de Milly and P. R. Zacosta⁸⁹. The latter also constructed Fort St Nicholas90 (fig. 36) in about 1464-1467; this was a detached fort on the end of the Mandraki mole and a key point in the defense of Rhodes. G. B. degli Orsini continued the labours of his predecessors, with P. d'Aubusson⁹¹, who succeeded him as Grand Master, supervising the work of fortification. The latter was not only the most illustrious of the Grand Masters of Rhodes and victor over Mehmet II in the great siege of Rhodes in 1480, but the most energetic builder. His coat of arms is displayed on the walls in at least fifty places. His successors, particularly F. del Carretto, continued his work.

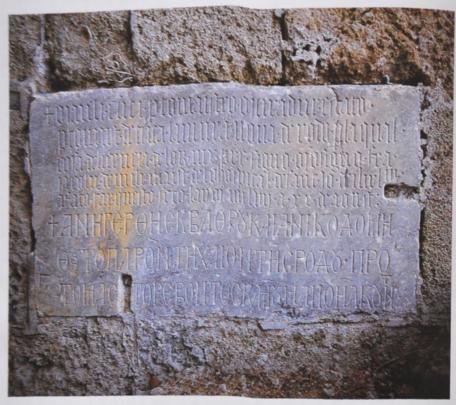
The Knights employed local craftsmen and used Muslim slaves as unskilled labour.

The works were planned and directed by master-masons, or muratores92, most of whom were Greeks, as far as we know. A document of 1428 mentions the master-mason and murator of Rhodes, George Singan or Tourkos93. On a marble slab incorporated in the wall just west of the inner Gate of St John (fig. 38), a bilingual inscription in Latin and Greek records that, under Grand Master de Milly, on the 20th of August 1457, this part of the wall was built by the mastermason of all the new walls of Rhodes, Manolis Kountis94. On the 8th of November 1448 master-mason Theodore Stratiotes95, who was a paroikos, was raised to the status of marinarios. In the late 15th and early 16th c. there are references to master-mason Antones tou Papa⁹⁶.

G. Gerola, who maintains that the contribution of Italian engineers to the fortification of Rhodes and the other Dodecanese castles was not only important but unique, regards Manolis Kountis⁹⁷ more as a building foreman (capomastro) than a construction engineer in the mod-

ern sense. There is indeed a problem over whether the Greek master-masons were simply competent stonemasons who were able to build very strong forts, or whether they possessed knowledge of engineering principles and defensive strategy. In our present state of knowledge it is impossible to give an answer. One thing is certain, however: after the middle of the 15th c. we are faced with a revolution in siege warfare. The discovery of gunpowder in the 14th c. and its regular use in the 15th brought about fundamental changes to weaponry and methods of attack and defense. The empirical knowledge of builders and soldiers about fortifying a site no longer sufficed. The invasion of Italy (1495) by Charles VIII98 of France clearly demonstrated that medieval fortifications had become obsolete. With astonishing speed Charles took by storm castles and fortified cities, which all crumbled before the pounding of his cannon. It was thus in Italy, which had not only experienced the new revolutionary weapon, but was culturally prepared to receive it, that the new defensive strategy first came into prominence, calling not only for experienced master-masons, but also experts in mathematics and engineering.

The first reference to the presence of engineers in Rhodes is by J. Bosio. In his description of the great siege of 1480 he mentions the German engineer George Frappan, or Mastro-Georgis99, who traitorously assisted the Turks and was finally hanged by the Knights. The same historian also writes that in the siege of 1480 a certain engineer100, whose name and nationality are unknown, advised the besieged on how to construct an engine of war. The Knight Sabba da Castiglione¹⁰¹, in a letter written in 1507 to Isabella Gonzaga d'Este, writes of an engineer from Cremona who was in Rhodes at the time.



38. Bilingual inscription (Italian-Greek) at the Gate of St John bearing the name of master-builder Manolis Kountis.

There is plenty of information about the Italian engineers who assisted the Knights during the last six or seven years of the island's struggle against the inevitable.

The engineer Matteo Gioeni¹⁰² settled in Rhodes and in 1521 received the title of Engineer to the Order of St John. He made a relief plan of Rhodes which Grand Master del Carretto sent to Pope Leo X. In 1519 another distinguished engineer, Basilio dalla Scuola¹⁰³, came to Rhodes at the invitation of the Grand Master. In 1520, in collaboration with "Mastro Gioeni", he

strengthened a section of the wall west of St John's Gate. He also visited the fortresses of Kos, St Peter (Petroumi) at Halicarnassus and fortresses on other Dodecanese islands to give expert advice. Before he departed in 1521, he left with the Knights plans for remodelling the fortifications in the sector of the Tongue of Auvergne. This work was carried out by Grand Master Ph. Villiers de l'Isle-Adam and completed shortly before the siege of 1522. Two other engineers, Gerolamo Bartolucci¹⁰⁴ and Gabriele Tadino da Martinego¹⁰⁵ were in Rhodes at the time of the last siege; they

contributed greatly, especially the latter, in countering the Ottoman mines, but due to the circumstances of the siege they almost certainly never designed or executed any new works.

The Fortress of Rhodes is remarkable on many accounts. It is rare, if not unique, to find a large medieval town like Rhodes preserved almost intact with its enceinte, street plan, public buildings, churches and houses. The changes wrought by 390 years of Ottoman occupation and 35 years of Italian intervention are relatively minor. To the contemporary world Rhodes appeared impregnable. Travellers who visited the island at the time marvelled at its might. For them it was the outpost of the Christian West.

Its fortifications, in the form in which they have come down to us, belong to the period of transition¹⁰⁶, when the discovery of gunpowder had transformed the art of war and of defense especially. Successive repairs, modifications and modernisations in the last 70 years before the island fell to the Turks, testify to the concern and endeavour of the Knights as they confronted the Ottoman war machine.

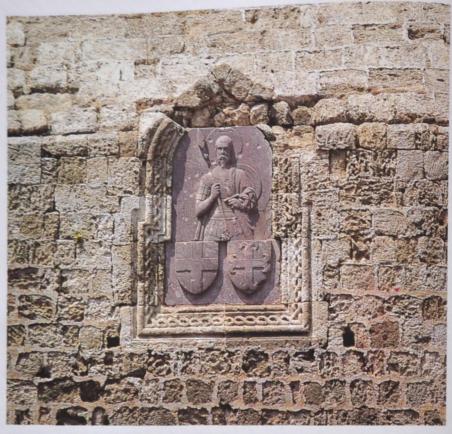
Hardly any section of the defenses was radically modernised by demolishing earlier structures, for the Ottoman threat was constant looming. The Knights tried, chiefly by new additions on the outside and inside, to render the walls capable of withstanding enemy artillery and at the same time to enable the defenders to strike back in return.

The curtain wall on the landward side, from the D' Amboise Gate on the northwest to the Tower of Italy on the southeast, was strengthened internally by an earth embankment retained by a thick revetment (figs 29-30, 34 and 37, plan I). The

original thickness of the wall was retained in the commercial harbour, in the sector of the Tongue of Castile, and in a part facing Acandia Bay, where the Tongue of Italy had its station. The moat was widened and a high retaining wall (counterscarp) contained the earth on the far side. The earth removed from the moat was used to raise the level of the ground around the town. The fortifications were thus partly concealed from enemy artillery, which could not easily strike its main body. Until the time of J. de Lastic, the older towers stood some metres off, and detached from the wall, so that they could be isolated during an assault. Now, however, they had to withstand cannon fire and were therefore braced against the wall with buttresses. At key defensive points bastions were added to the towers to enlarge their field of fire.

From Grand Master P. d'Aubusson's time the number of gates on the landward side was prudently reduced. Of the five that had existed on the south and west sides until the middle of the 15th c., d'Aubusson blocked up two, St George's Gate and the gate to Acandia harbour, turning them into massive bastions. In 1501 it was decided to close off the gates of St Anthony (later the D'Amboise Gate) and St Athanasius. The decision was not carried out in the case of the former, but the second gate was probably dismantled.

The harbour was originally protected by a narrow, weak wall with a parapet. In the early 15th c. Grand Master de Naillac built the tower that bears his name on the north mole of the main harbour. In the third quarter of the 15th c. the Tower of the Windmills (or of France) was built on the northeast tip of the harbour (plans I-II). In the same period the most important tower of all was built: that of St Nicholas (fig. 36), an isolated fort north of the city



39. Marble relief in the wall at the battle station of the Tongue of England.

A soldier saint (St Theodore ?) and the coat of arms of Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson.

on the end of the ancient mole of the small harbour of Mandraki.

Much attention was given to the moat, which was always dry and acted as a trap for the assailants. Fighting in the moat was particularly bloody. A low rampart hugging the base of the curtain wall spouted fire. On sections of the enceinte with an extensive front, like those of the

Tongues of Aragon and England (fig. 34), thick, strong terre-pleins divided the moat lengthwise, in order to strike at the enemy from every side. The massive projecting bastions of Spain, Italy and St George (figs 30 and 37) had embrasures at the level of the moat floor. There were also concealed posterns enabling the defenders to make surprise sallies against the enemy or to clear the moat of the

stones and earth that fell into it from collapsed walls or other material thrown in by the besiegers to fill it up.

In 1500 the fortifications of Rhodes, with their mixture of old and new elements, presented the following arrangement107 over most of their length, proceeding from the inside outwards (fig. 35): 1) The curtain wall dropped vertically or at a slight angle to the moat; it was crowned by a wall walk protected on the outer side by a crenellated parapet with apertures, small arms and archers or embrasures for cannon. 2) An advance wall was built at many points along the enceinte in front of the curtain wall, which also dropped down to the moat. It was lower than the main wall and served as a first line of fire. It was crenellated and also strengthened by scattered towers. 3) The deep, wide moat had a high outer rim. At strategic points it was double, with massive terrepleins (fig. 34) running along the middle, the top of which reached ground level.

The Fortress of Rhodes, in the form in which it has come down to us, belongs to the Western European conception of architectural engineering and defensive design¹⁰⁸. Very few elements are attributable to Byzantine or Eastern influences except for those sections of the enceinte that were left unchanged since the Byzantine period. Provençal and Spanish influences are clear. D'Aubusson's contribution is at times strongly reminiscent of the defensive works at Avignon and Villeneuve-les-Avignon. Italian engineers, in spite of what Gerola writes, played only a small part in the evolution of the Rhodian fortifications. In the first 20 years of the 16th c., when active on the island, they carried out only minor works.

The Fortress of Rhodes was the heart and centre of a wider defensive system encom-

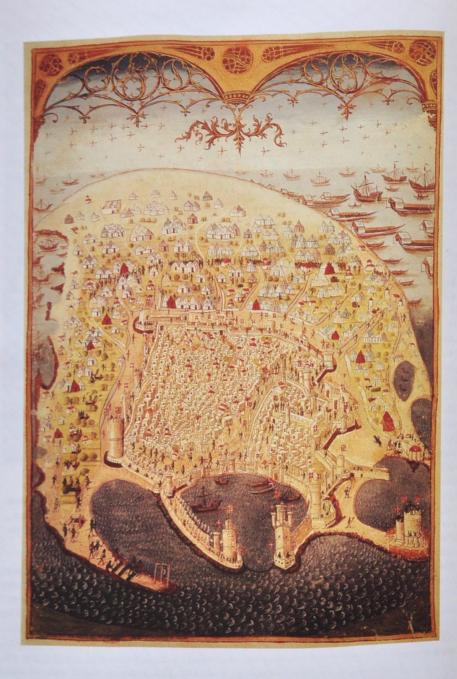
passing not only the island of Rhodes, but all the islands within the jurisdiction of the Order.

Two decrees are known¹⁰⁹ designating the fortresses where the inhabitants of the countryside were to take refuge in the event of enemy attack. One was issued in 1474 in the time of Grand Master G. B. degli Orsini and the other in 1479 under P. d'Aubusson.

The first one names twelve strong fortresses, together with Rhodes itself: Lindos110, Lachania111, Kattavia112, Apolakkia¹¹³, Apollona¹¹⁴, Salakos¹¹⁵, Phanai¹¹⁶, Villanova¹¹⁷ (Paradeision), Pharaklos¹¹⁸, Archangelos¹¹⁹, and Koskinou¹²⁰. The 1479 decree mentions nine strong fortresses together with Rhodes: Lindos, Apollona, Asklepeion¹²¹, Monolithos¹²², Pharaklos, Trianda¹²³ (Philerimos), Kremasti¹²⁴, and Villanova (Paradeision). Seven of those in the 1474 decree are missing, and there are four new ones (Asklepeion, Monolithos, Trianda and Kremasti). Thus a total of fifteen fortresses are listed in the Rhodian countryside. In addition, the existence is known of six more whose remains survive: Kastellos¹²⁵ (Kritinia), Kitala¹²⁶, Lardos¹²⁷, Gennadion¹²⁸, Sianna¹²⁹ and Mesanagros¹³⁰.

Besides the fortresses, Rhodes is dotted with watch-towers, especially on the coast, from which lookouts kept an eye on the sea and gave a warning of surprise raids.

There are conspicuous remains of fortresses on nine other Dodecanese islands, which formed part of the Hospitaller defense network: Symi¹³¹, Chalki¹³², Alimnia¹³³, Tilos¹³⁴, Nisyros¹³⁵, Kos¹³⁶, Kalymnos¹³⁷, Leros¹³⁸, and Kastellorizo¹³⁹. And on the Anatolian coast opposite Kos on the site of ancient Halicarnassus stands one of the strongest and most important of all the fortresses, St Peter's (Petroumi)¹⁴⁰.



40. The medieval city of Rhodes and the Grand Master's Palace in 1480 (cod. Par. lat. 6067, fol. 32) (1483-1489).

Town-planning

When the large, splendid and wellplanned Hellenistic city of Rhodes finally fell to the Romans in 42 BC and became a part of the powerful Roman Empire, decline set in. From then on the island was plagued and irreparably damaged by a series of earthquakes and enemy incursions. The catastrophic earthquakes in the middle¹⁴¹ of the 2nd c. AD, in 344/45¹⁴² and in AD 515143 are considered to have been disastrous for the city's streets and buildings, and earlier scholars assumed that one of the two latter brought about the end of the ancient town144. There are, however, indications that life went on in much of the city until the middle of the 7th c., the time of the great Arab raid in 653/54, although by then the ancient town plan had already begun to lose its regularity due to encroachments on the streets and the consequent distortion of their axes that began in the Early Christian period.

It is likely that the city was not entirely deserted in the 7th c., and that, as Arab sources state, the population took refuge in the fort during enemy raids. We are now able to determine the size of fort. It occupied the area that became known as the Collachium under the Knights (plan II). Greek writers also mention a "fort", which the Arabs under Harun al Rashid were unable to capture in 807. It is therefore clear that the rather vague and scanty information available in the histories and the limited evidence so far revealed by excavation cannot yet provide a picture of the structure and street plan of the city before the Knights.

Long before the Knights of St John arrived in Rhodes, probably at the end of the 11th c. or during the course of the 12th c., the shrunken city, which in the Byzantine period had been roughly 175,000 m² in area,

had acquired a rectangular plan (plan I) conforming in a general way to that of all Late Roman and Early Christian cities in Asia Minor and the Middle East. In the 15th c., under the Knights, it grew in size to become 4.5 times as large as the Byzantine city and occupied an area of 800,000 m2. Its outline also changed, becoming more rounded in shape and embracing the commercial harbour, an indication of its future destiny and interests: it looked to the sea with its seafaring and trade links. There was now one harbour, Emborio (Commercial Harbour), vigilantly guarded by the Knights with walls, towers and a chain¹⁴⁵ across its entrance. A shipyard¹⁴⁶ was situated in the northwest harbour. known since medieval times as Mandraki, and continued to operate there until only a few decades ago.

Around the city stretched the famous gardens of Rhodes. 15th c. travellers admired the Grand Master's garden¹⁴⁷, which was near the Palace. It was full of fruit trees and exotic animals and birds, including ostriches, peacocks and a hunting dog with bird's feet, according to contemporary visitors; it was also decorated with ancient statues collected by different Grand Masters¹⁴⁸ and was a place of recreation in the Renaissance style. If we are to believe Sabba da Castiglione¹⁴⁹, the ancient statues did not adorn the garden of the Grand Master's Palace, but were thrown away as useless junk and exposed to the weather. It is, however, hard to believe implicitly everything this emotional Knight writes, especially since the occupant of the Palace at this time was that devotee of letters and education, E. d'Amboise.

Northwest of Mandraki, on the present-day site of the Mosque of Murad Reis and the old official Muslim cemetery, was the church of St Anthony¹⁵⁰ and the cemetery of ordinary Knights.

The Byzantine tripartite division of the walled city continued under the Knights. An internal wall (fig. 32 and plan II) running east-west divided the city into two unequal parts, as in the Byzantine period. In the northern, smaller part, variously known as the Collachium, Chastel, Chateau, Castrum, Castellum or Conventus151 (plan II) were the great church of the Order, St John of the Collachium, Our Lady of the Castle, the cathedral church of the Latins (before the conquest of Rhodes by the Knights, it had been the Orthodox Metropolitan Church), the Latin archbishop's palace, the Inns of the Tongues, the Great Hospital, the residences of the Knights, and, in the northwest corner, the Palace of the Grand Master, which also served as the citadel, final refuge of the besieged. In the northeastern part of the Collachium were the dockyard and Knights' Arsenal152.

The southern and larger part comprised the city proper, known as ville, burgus or burgum¹⁵⁸. Here a medley of races and nationalities lived and worked; except for the Jews, who had their own quarter in the Ovriake, Jiufrie or Giudecha, on the east side of the city, all the others appear to have lived together indiscriminately. So far, at least, no districts have been identified which indicate any particular ethnic or class grouping.

The streets of Rhodes, like those of every medieval urban community, were generally narrow and crowded, the result of the need to compress living space within the confines of the walls. Many of the streets followed the axes of Hellenistic ones¹⁵⁴, with numerous deviations, such as modern Sokratous, Ippoton (Knights'), Ayiou Phanouriou and Dimosthenous Streets.

The marketplace, known as the Magna et Communis Platea or Macellus Rhodi or Macellus Burgi Rhodi¹⁵⁵, was the hub of economic activity. It was a long, broad street that started west at the Gate of St George and ran eastwards, following Apolloniou St. and Sokratous St. to the Marine Gate (fig. 40, plan I). From there it continued through the Ovriake to finish somewhere abreast of the Tower of Italy. The northern boundary of the marketplace was the wall of the Collachium, and its southern edge was some two or three metres south of the present limit of Sokratous St. It was more than 60 m wide in places.

The shops, warehouses and workshops were only on the southern side, while the north was dominated by the Collachium wall with a wide moat in front of it. Recent excavations have shown that the moat was already there by about the end of the 7th c. The Knights very probably broadened and deepened the already existing moat after the decision¹⁵⁶ of the Chapter General of 1475. Thus the existence of a moat parallel to the wall explains the seemingly excessive size of the marketplace. In it was the Basilica Mercatorum, where commercial disputes were adjudicated and there was a centre for commercial and financial transactions and the penal courthouse (Castellania). The site of the marketplace had perhaps served the same purpose in antiquity, and it preserved this function until recent times.

Apart from the marketplace and public buildings, the churches dotted throughout the city, both Orthodox and Catholic, provided venues for public gatherings and social occasions. The men also had the taverns, where they drank and played cards and dice. They are mentioned in Emmanuel Limenites' poem, "The Great Plague of Rhodes" 157. The poet also writes of baths, gardens and fountains, where the women met 158.



41. Inn of the Tongue of Provence.

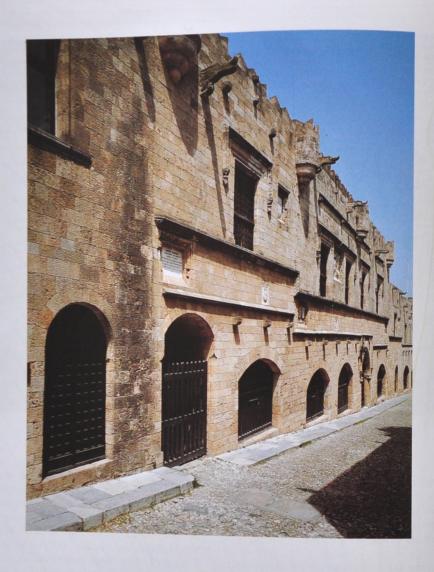
Public Architecture

No one has studied the difficult but interesting subject of Rhodian secular architecture before the Knights.

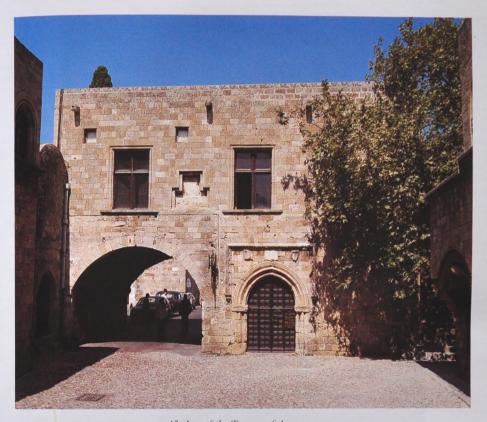
In the Early Christian period the typology and morphology of Late Hellenistic architecture seem to have continued along broadly the same lines, but nothing definite can yet be said about Rhodian architecture in Byzantine times. Research into this field has not yet begun.

Rhodian architecture under the Knights can be roughly divided into two unequal

periods¹⁵⁹. The first extends from 1309, the year Rhodes was captured by the Knights, to 1480/81. Only a few buildings belonging to it can be identified from the typology of their construction; they include the first Hospital, the façade of the Inn of the Tongue of Spain, large part of the second Hospital of the Knights and probably part of a house in the Street of the Knights with the arms of Grand Master de Villeneuve built into the façade. It used to be thought that part of the ground floor of the Grand Master's Palace¹⁶⁰ belonged to this period, but recent research has shown that large part of the ground floor, particularly the exterior, is Byzantine in date (see p. 148 f.).



42. Inn of the Tongue of France.

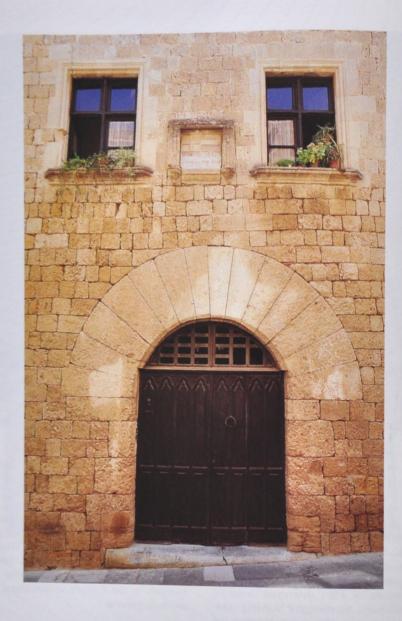


43. Inn of the Tongue of Auvergne.

The second building period began in 1480/81 and ended with the fall of Rhodes to the Ottomans in 1522. The bombardment inflicted on the city during the great siege of 1480 and the powerful earthquake of 1481 destroyed many of the buildings. An energetic building campaign initiated the reconstruction of public and private buildings along with the fortifications of the city, and this continued for the duration of the Hospitaller period. Most of the buildings to be seen today are from this period.

It is fairly sure that in the 14th c. Rhodian urban architecture adopted typological and morphological features from Western Europe. Very few elements in it can be derived with any probability from Byzantium or the Eastern architectural tradition in general.

They built in the ashlar manner using the local buff-coloured poros stone. In the 14th c., following the Rhodian Byzantine tradition, large poros blocks were used; the height of the courses might reach 0.50



44. Inn of the Tongue of Spain.

m, and pieces of tile were inserted in the vertical and horizontal joints. In the 15th c., especially its end, and in the early 16th c., the courses were 0.20-0.22 m high and very carefully laid, so that the joints are very narrow.

The buildings in this period are as a rule two-storey. The ground floor was occupied by vaulted storerooms entered directly from the street. The residential quarters were on the upper floor and usually had flat ceilings as in the southern provinces of Spain, France and Italy, the Aegean and the East. There was a courtyard in the middle, at the side or at the back.

A. Gabriel¹⁶¹ distinguished three types of building according to the position of the stairs leading to the upper floor:

Type A (fig. 45a)

The stairs to the upper floor were sited in a rectangular yard which might be in the middle of the building, but was more commonly at the side, adjacent to the building next door or the street. The yard was approached from the street through a vaulted passage. In many cases the yard was completely taken up by the stairs and became a stair-well (Inns of the Tongues of France, Italy, Provence, Spain and others).

Type B (fig. 45b)

The stairs formed part of the façade on the street (Castellania) or in the garden (Inn of the Tongue of Auvergne, Djem's House, etc.). The stairs led to a balcony onto which many rooms opened, or to a landing giving access to the sole entrance door.

Type C (fig. 45c)

A straight narrow stairway was built against the inside of a partition wall. This type was used in long narrow buildings with a short frontage (for example the houses at 30 Ayiou Phanouriou St. and 3 Thoukydidou St.).

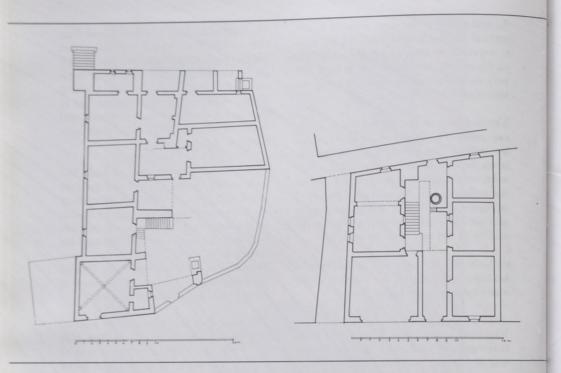
The vaulted ceilings¹⁶² of the ground floor were usually of the barrel or pointed type; ribbed cross vaulting was rare. The mouldings¹⁶³ surrounding the windows or separating the storeys in the first building period were plain or non-existent, but in the second they were more intricate and sometimes decorated in relief with geometric or floral designs.

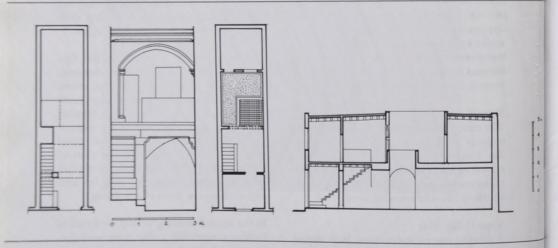
As a rule the doors¹⁶⁴ were arched. The arch might be pointed, which was the most usual, segmental, which was common over the entrances to the storerooms, or round. In the latter case the arch was sometimes built with fine large voussoirs. Rectangular frames in the main entrances were rare. Two of them, in Djem's House (fig. 79) and the Castellania (fig. 80), were the work of early 16th c. Renaissance craftsmen.

The windows¹⁶⁵ had segmental or pointed and rarely round arches. In the late 15th and early 16th c. the commonest type of window was the cross window and house fronts of the period had many. Very occasionally we come across surviving mullioned windows with two or three lights.

The fronts of the buildings in the first period, to judge from what has survived, were usually plain, sometimes flat, severe and undecorated (first hospital) (fig. 6) and sometimes with plain mouldings framing the windows and separating the storeys. Occasionally, in the 15th c., tall polygonal buttresses reinforced the façade (Inn of the Tongue of Spain). Here and there a coat of arms carved in marble may be seen embellishing the front of a building.

In the second building period the fronts of buildings, especially public ones, were decorated with relief ornamentation either in the form of string-courses, to break up the high façades, or of surrounds for doors, windows and coats of arms. The repertoire





45. a) Inn of the Tongue of Italy (building type A). b) Inn of the Tongue of Auvergne (building type B).
c) Unidentified house (building type C).

of motifs was European and the workmanship deft and sure. Some of the work seems to have been done by craftsmen imported from Europe, like the Renaissance marble doorframes in Djem's House (fig. 79) and the Castellania (fig. 80).

Some of the interiors were decorated with wall paintings. The Belgian traveller Rottiers in 1826 saw a large fresco in a house in the Collachium depicting a legendary battle between Grand Master D. de Gozon and a dragon 166. A clumsy copy of it was made by the painter Witdoek, who accompanied Rottiers. The remains of painted decoration dating to the late 15th or early 16th c. (coats or arms, allegorical scenes, and what was probably a representation of the city of Rhodes) were recently found in the vaulted ground floor room of a house in Gavala St.

The walls of some of the rooms in the Palace of the Grand Master and the wealthy houses were covered with tapestries made in Europe. There is a magnificent painted wooden ceiling in the Castellania (fig. 66), and traces of decorated ceilings have survived in the Great Hospital, the Hospice of St Catherine and other buildings.

The architecture of Rhodes under the Knights belongs to the Late Gothic style of Western Europe. The bare, unbroken façades, flat roofs, interior courtyards and open porticoes came from the South of France¹⁶⁷. Catalan influence¹⁶⁸ can be seen in the round arched portals with large voussoirs of the Inn of the Tongue of Spain (fig. 44), the building of D. Villaragut, an unidentified mansion at 1 Simmiou St. and elsewhere. Also considered Catalan are the fine portals with pointed arches surrounded by a rectangular frame of the Inns of the Tongues of Auvergne (fig. 43), France (fig. 42) and Provence (fig. 41), as

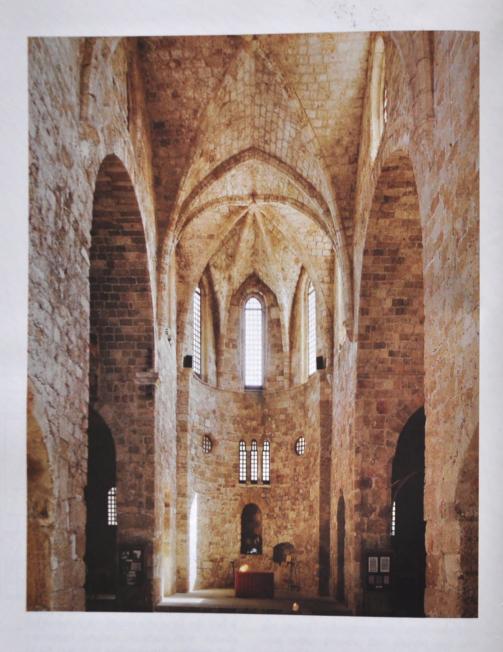
well as the north entrance of the Great Hospital and elsewhere, although they are not unknown in the South of France. Many common French and Spanish architectural features were intermixed in 15th c. Rhodes. A factor that played a part in the dilution of the pure imported foreign architecture was the employment of Greek master-masons and craftsmen in the construction work. They introduced, no doubt unconsciously, local elements which effectively altered the West European style, but the results were nearly always successful.

In the late 15th and early 16th c. Italian Renaissance art¹⁶⁹ made a timid appearance in Rhodes. The most characteristic examples of the new style are the two doorframes in Djem's House and the Castellania and the marble arcosolium of a grave monument, now used as a doorway in the Mosque of Suleiman (figs 76-78).

The Great Hospital is the only building in which we can detect Eastern architectural roots¹⁷⁰. It was modelled on the plan of the Byzantine *xenodocheia* (hospices), monasteries or caravanserai, in which the central courtyard was surrounded by arcaded two-storey galleries just as in the Rhodian building.

Ecclesiastical Architecture

Six Early Christian ecclesiastical buildings have so far been identified in the city of Rhodes. The most important seems to have been the large Early Christian basilica¹⁷¹ at the junction of P. Mela St. and Cheimarras St. in the west of the modern town. In its third and final building phase it had the form of a cruciform three-aisled church with narthex, atrium, baptistery and annexes surrounding it. It was 60.55 m long with the narthex and about 23 m wide. The first building phase dates to the



46. Our Lady of the Castle. Interior.

5th c., at which time the walls were decorated with frescoes and mural mosaics and it had mosaic floors. Two more building phases followed, the third and last of which belonged to the Justinianic period. It was probably destroyed during the great 7th c. Arab incursion, which ended its use as a place of worship.

To the west of the large Early Christian basilica, a small cruciform Early Christian building¹⁷² has been excavated, dating roughly to the 5th or 6th c. and probably an annex of the adjacent basilica. It had a mosaic floor. In 1930 a basilica¹⁷⁸ was discovered near the modern stadium, but its exact location has now been lost.

In the medieval city a recent excavation in the ruined Church of St Michael¹⁷⁴ (plan I, no. 25) in Athinas Sq. uncovered part of a three-aisled Early Christian basilica, whose large central apse is surrounded by pastophories. Further west in the same square, the first building phase of the Church of St Spyridon (plan I, no. 17) was Early Christian. It was probably an annex of the basilica of St Michael rather than a separate structure.

Another recent find is the Early Christian basilica in Agisandrou St. (plan I, no. 12) in the medieval city. After the destruction of the basilica, a small cruciform church¹⁷⁵ was built on the ruins in the Byzantine period.

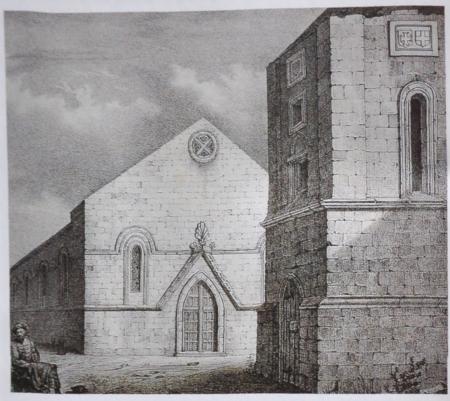
Of the approximately 400 known churches in Rhodes, dating from the 5th to the middle of the 19th c., about a hundred belong to the period of the Knights. In the medieval city 29 churches are preserved and is reckoned that there must have been a total of between 35 and 37 by the time the island was conquered by the Ottomans. There were another 23 outside the walls.

Some seven of the churches in the me-

dieval city were built before the arrival of the Knights: Our Lady of the Castle (fig. 46, plan I, no. 36), St Phanourios (plan I, no. 18), SS Constantine and Helena (plan I, no. 26), St Artemius (plan I, no. 24), St Spyridon (plan I, no. 17), the two first building phases of St Michael in Athinas Sq. and the anonymous church in Agisandrou St.

The Rhodians built their churches with the local buff-coloured poros. From what we know, the walls of the Greek churches, at least, were built in the ashlar style, but the poros blocks were at first somewhat roughly finished and pieces of tile were inserted into the joints. From the 15th c., and especially its second half, the ashlar construction was more carefully executed and not a single instance is known of tile ornaments or bricks being used. They were roofed with stone vaults, usually slightly pointed. Only the Hospitaller Church of St John of the Collachium was partly roofed in timber (fig. 48, plans I-II, no. 58). Domes¹⁷⁶, where they existed, were built of stone and in a variety of forms. Most were plain and featureless, with drums of eight or twelve sides, or cylindrical. The vaults and domes were tiled. In the Ottoman period, wherever the tiles were destroyed, the roofs were covered with kourasani (a waterproof cement made with powdered brick).

The exterior of the churches remained featureless and austere, and rarely were they embellished with mouldings. Sometimes glazed plates decorated the masonry over the doorways or on the exterior of the domes. The doors were usually surrounded by relief moulding. The windows were few and small, and some of them had moulded decoration around them, an indication of Western European influence. In some of the churches the original floors, consisting of marble slabs plundered from



47. St John of the Collachium. West façade (engraving: Rottiers).

older buildings, were arranged to form a simple pattern.

Three of the churches surviving in the medieval city and another one, now destroyed, belong to Western European architectural types.

The largest and finest of these was the Church of St John of the Collachium¹⁷⁷ (figs 47-48, plans I-II, no. 58), which stood south of the Grand Master's Palace.

Only the foundations, and part of the floor, are visible today. It was blown up¹⁷⁸ in 1856 and totally destroyed. Medieval accounts¹⁷⁹ and the descriptions and woodcuts left by travellers¹⁸⁰ in the last century, as well as the excavation¹⁸¹ carried out by Italian architect P. Lojacono in 1934, help us to obtain a rough reconstruction of the building. It was three-aisled with a transept and a sanctuary with a rectangular plan. The aisles had timber roofs, the central one being a barrel vault and the side ones



48. St John of the Collachium. Interior (engraving: Rottiers).

single pitched. The transept and sanctuary had ribbed cross-vaulting¹⁸². The church was 48 or 50 m long overall and 15 or 17 m wide, and the transept about 25 m long.

It is probable that the foundations were laid immediately after the Knights came to Rhodes in 1309, and that it was finished in the time of Grand Master de Villeneuve. In the last years of Hospitaller rule it was a special concern of members of the Order, who enriched it with donations and enlarged it with the addition of more chapels. It was the resting place of the Grand Masters, whose lavish, monumental tombs with their reliefs and effigies adorned the interior.

A short distance south of St John of the Collachium, on the broad High Street, the cross-vaulted apse of a church was recently discovered standing to its full height and concealed behind the oven of the old Muslim poorhouse. According to tradition it had been the Church of the Holy Apostles (plans I-II, no. 63). It was clearly a church of Gothic type.

In the Jewish quarter, on the east side of the medieval city, are visible the ruins of two more churches of Western European type: Our Lady of the Burgh (fig. 49, plan I, no. 60) and Our Lady of Victory (plan I, no. 59). Of the first¹⁸³, the three sanctuary

apses are preserved to their full height, and most of the church and its chapels to a considerable height. It was some 30 m long without the sanctuary apses, and 14 m wide. It probably did not have a transept. Evidence 184 dating to 1382 indicates that it was built in the second half of the 14th c.

At the northeastern edge of the city, beside St Catherine's Gate, the construction of our Lady of Victory was begun in the latter part of the 15th c. The Knights¹⁸⁵ honoured the Virgin because, according to popular tradition, she had helped them to defeat the Turks in the great siege of 1480. Today it is a complete ruin and only a few traces of the cross-vaulting are left.

The remaining 24 churches can be classified into five Byzantine architectural types: nine aisleless (fig. 50a), two inscribed cruciform (fig. 50b), eight free cruciform (fig. 51a), four three-aisled vaulted (fig. 51b) and one quatrefoil plan (fig. 51c).

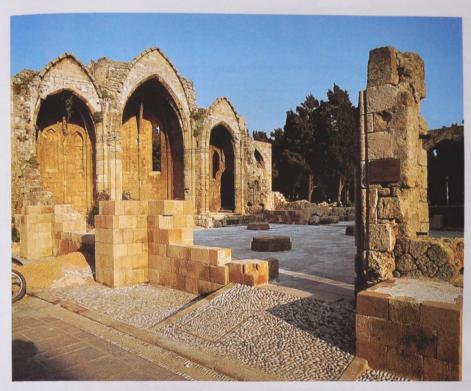
In Rhodes, after the aisleless¹⁸⁶ churches with vaulted roofs, simple types which were built throughout the Middle Ages and are found all over Greece, next in numbers came the free cruciform churches¹⁸⁷ with a dome. It was an architectural type derived from Roman mausolea and first used by the Christians in the Early Christian martyria. In the Middle and Late Byzantine periods it was rather rare on the Greek mainland and in the Balkan Peninsula generally¹⁸⁵. On the other hand it was quite common on islands of the Aegean, like the Cyclades, Mytilene, Crete, Rhodes and in Cyprus.

Professor Orlandos¹⁸⁹ attempted to classify the type of free cruciform church with a dome into four varieties based on the proportions of the arms of the cross. His classification¹⁹⁰ was shown to be artificial, however, because it did not take into account the constraints imposed by urban conditions (houses, streets, etc.) which inevitably resulted in varieties quite distinct from Orlandos' typology. We will linger briefly over the third of his varieties, in which the east arm of the cross is short and the other three relatively long and nearly equal (fig. 51a). It dates to the period of the Knights, and more specifically to the 15th c. The lengthening of the northern and southern arms of the cross was probably due to the influence of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture, in which a transept was usual.

It is worth noting that the type of the inscribed cross-in-square, so widespread in Greece and Asia Minor from the Middle Byzantine period onwards, is represented in medieval Rhodes by only two examples: Our Lady of the Castle (fig. 46, 50b) and St Michael in Athinas Sq. There are two other examples in the Rhodian countryside and a handful more on the other Dodecanese islands, amounting to no more than ten in all.

Our Lady of the Castle (fig. 46, plans I-II, no. 36)¹⁹¹, which is perhaps the oldest, dates to at least the 11th c. It was the Greek Cathedral of Rhodes in the Byzantine period and the Latin Cathedral under the Franks. Recent excavations¹⁹² show that the Church of St Michael was built considerably later, probably in the 15th c., on the ruins of another church that had only been a small Middle Byzantine aisleless edifice, built in its turn on the ruins of the south aisle of a large Early Christian basilica.

The fact that one architectural type of church, the inscribed cross-in-square, which was rare in Rhodes and the Dodecanese generally, was built to replace another type, the aisleless church that preceded it, supports the earlier proposal by Gabriel¹⁹³ and Orlandos¹⁹⁴ that in Hospitaller times



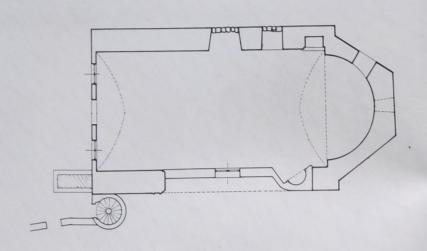
49. Our Lady of the Town (or Burgh).

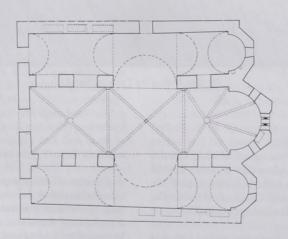
St Michael was the cathedral of the Greeks. It is likely that, when the Orthodox wanted to build a new cathedral, they copied the type of the old one, Our Lady of the Castle, which the Franks had appropriated.

In Hospitaller times the walled city was surrounded, Merri Dupuis¹⁹⁵ tells us, by "...many gardens full of small houses, churches and chapels of the Greeks". In G. Caoursin's miniatures (figs 40, 85) and a woodcut by Breydenbach¹⁹⁶, the land around the city is depicted full of gardens dotted with various buildings and churches. Other travellers, like N. de Martoni¹⁹⁷

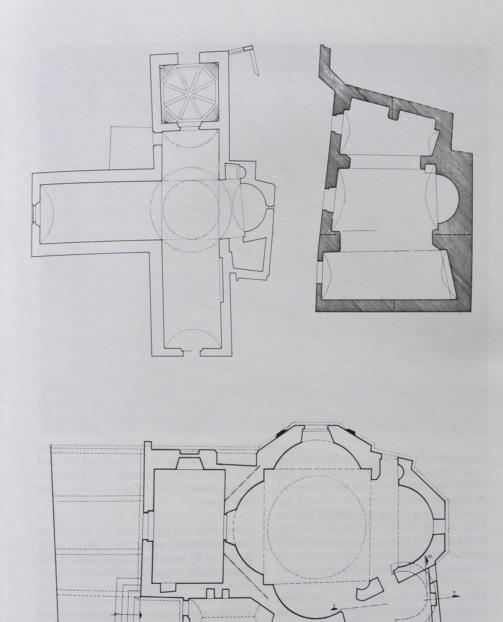
and Felix Faber¹⁹⁸, give us the same picture.

In the siege of 1480 a large number of churches and monasteries around the city were used by the enemy as assault points. After consultation, therefore, with the Greek Metropolitan and priests, the Franciscans and representatives of the people, on the 3rd of February 1481 the Grand Master and his Chapter issued an order to demolish all of them on the grounds that they were a danger to the security of the city. The text of the order, which has survived¹⁹⁹, although at present it is known to us only through Bosio²⁰⁰, is very useful





50. Plans of characteristic types of churches in the medieval city:
a) St Kyriaki. Aisleless barrel-vaulted type. b) Our Lady of the Castle. Inscribed cruciform type.



51. Plans of characteristic types of churches:
a) Holy Trinity (Dolapli). Free cruciform with dome type. b) St Catherine (Ik Mihrab).
Three-aisled barrel-vaulted type. c) St George (Khourmali). Quatrefoil with dome type.

because it preserves the names of many churches which no longer exist or were converted or rebuilt under the Ottomans.

These churches comprise St Anthony, St Michael tou Mastrostephanou, St Michael in front of the bastion, Catrifeteni, the church in the garden of Papanikitas Sculi, the church of Skaros, St Catherine, the church of Alithini, St Onouphrios, the Eleimonitria, San Giorgio di Proventura, St Anastasia, the church of Paximadis, St Menas, St Maura, St Nicholas tu Sivo tu chorio, Our Lady of Christ, St George nearby, and the Church of the Purification. Not even the locations of most of these churches are known.

The Church of St Anthony²⁰¹ is known from many references by historians and travellers of the period. It is mentioned as early as 1395 by N. de Martoni. It was at Mandraki opposite Fort St Nicholas, where the mosque of Murad Reis now stands, and around it stretched the cemetery of the Knights²⁰². It was destroyed before the 1480 siege and was rebuilt immediately afterwards.

One of the two churches of St Michael that were mentioned in the decision of the Order must have been the one preserved in Heroon Polytechneiou St. One of the two was also probably the church built in 1455 by the master shipbuilder of the dockyard²⁰³ (Mastrostephanos?). In a document²⁰⁴ of 1451 there is also mention of a church of St Michael with a cemetery.

The name of the church of Catrifeteni probably denoted the Virgin Kataphygiani or Kataphygi, but its whereabouts in the city are unknown. Nor do we know where the church with the curious name of Alithini was. The 1451 document mentioned above gives the full name: St Mary Magdalene or Alithini²⁰⁵.

Two churches of St George are mentioned in the demolition order. There are three in the city of Rhodes: southeast of the medieval city St George o Pano and St George o Kato or Kamenos, and to the west St George Phtochos.

The church of Eleimonitria²⁰⁶ no longer exists. It stood outside and in front of the defenses of the Tongues of Aragon and England, close to the church of SS Cosmas and Damian. It is often mentioned by Bosio²⁰⁷ in his account of the siege of 1480. In spite of the demolition order in 1481 it was still standing at the time of the 1522 siege. An icon thought to be miraculous, the Virgin Eleimonitria, was worshipped in the church. The Knights took it with them when they went to Malta.

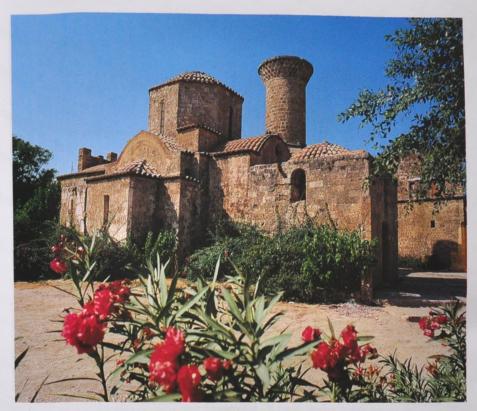
St Anastasia is today the parish church of the parish of that name, but it is of 19th c. construction.

The church of Paximadis no longer survives, but it was probably in the parish of the old Metropolis in the locality of Paximada²⁰⁸.

There are two churches of St Nicholas in Rhodes: one east of the medieval city and the other to the northwest. The epithet *tu Sivo tu chorio* (of the village of Sivos) is not now known.

It has been suggested that the Church of the Purification might have been in the parish of St Anastasia, where there was a shrine of the Virgin Portaritsa²⁰⁹ in one of the houses.

Other sources give information about more churches in the suburbs of the medieval city. The church of SS Cosmas and Damian²¹⁰, known during the Hospitaller period²¹¹, was replaced by another one in the 18th c., but remains of the old building can be seen north of it.



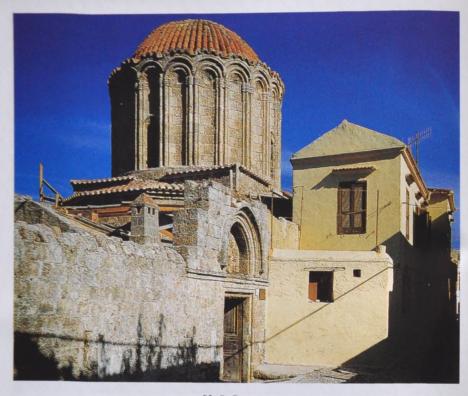
52. Holy Trinity.

On St Stephen's Hill, now known as Monte Smith, there stood until at least 1826 a half derelict church²¹² of the same name on the ruins of the ancient temple of Zeus Polieus. Buondelmonti²¹³ mentions it at the beginning of the 15th c. It was probably demolished by the Franciscan monks and the material²¹⁴ from it was used in 1849-1853 to build the Catholic church of S. Maria de la Vittoria.

We do not know where exactly the church of

St Callinicus in the suburbs of the medieval city mentioned by Buondelmonti²¹⁵ stood. Picenardi²¹⁶ placed it between the parish of Neochori and the St Stephen's Hill. When he visited it, it was dedicated to St Demetrius and bore the arms of Geronimo de Canelli with the date 1410.

St John tis Pigis²¹⁷ mentioned in the histories seems to be the small underground church in Venetokleon St. in the eastern part of the city.



53. St George.

Christ Saviour, another church known from Buondelmonti²¹⁸ and the events of the siege²¹⁹ of 1522, was situated opposite the battle station of Auvergne outside the west side of the medieval city.

Another church, St John ton Lepron, is also mentioned by Buondelmonti²²⁰, but no longer exists. It has been sited with some probability in the eastern suburbs of the medieval city, in the locality formerly known as Maliordeia²²¹.

Names of churches and monasteries in

the medieval city of Rhodes are given in documents of the Knights, but we are not yet able to assign them with certainty to particular existing buildings. St John the Precursor tou Agallianou²²², Sancto Yconona²²³ (?= Ayios Oikonomos or Ayia or Ayios tou Oikonomou?), St Irene²²⁴, the Virgin Cliviotissa²²⁵ (?= Kalyviotissa), St Marina²²⁶, Holy Apostles²²⁷ and Pantokratoras²²⁸.

The recent publication of a group of documents has brought to light the name of one more church, the Virgin Damaskini²²⁹, which was in the walled city, according to



54. Bird on leaves (late 5th-early 6th c.). Large basilica of Rhodes.

the documents, and near the ramparts of the Tongue of Aragon. Although the documents are explicit about the location of the church, we are once again unlucky. According to R. Zacosta's decree, which in 1465 laid down precisely the defense positions on the enceinte for which the different Tongues were responsible, the battle station of the Tongue of Aragon started at the Gate of St Athanasius and ended at the Gate of St John. In the area covered by this section of the enceinte there are six churches in the city today. During the 1522 siege, however, the Tongue of Aragon

changed position and took over the section of the wall that stood between the Tower of Spain and the Gate of St Athanasius (plan I). Today there is no church within the city near this part of the wall, and it is thus difficult at present to determine the exact site of the Virgin Damaskini.

PAINTING

Some 76 medieval pictorial complexes have so far been indentified in Rhodes²³⁰ in churches and secular buildings, con-

taining 94-99 different layers of painting. It was a common practice, when painted decoration was being renewed, not to destroy the earlier frescoes, but to cover them with fresh plaster and to paint over them, resulting in a succession of painted layers. About 25 of these layers have been dated with some certainty from the second half of the 5th to the beginning of the 14th c. The rest were painted between 1309 and 1522 during the Hospitaller period (these figures do not include frescoes painted in the Ottoman period, after 1522).

On the other islands of the Dodecanese there are about 80 pictorial complexes containing 90-95 layers of painting. Approximately 65 of these belong to the Hospitaller period and contain about 70 layers. The prosperous economic, social and cultural situation of the Latin and Greek inhabitants of Rhodes and the rest of the Dodecanese under Frankish rule, especially in the 15th and 16th c., stimulated the development of painting and art generally in both quality and quantity.

It is noticeable that the production of mural painting was unexpectedly greater in Rhodes and the other Hospitaller dominated Dodecanese islands under the Franks than in earlier periods in the same region, a phenomenon which appears to have been common to other parts of Greece²³¹ at the time.

For the Early Christian period, remains of the decoration (fig. 54) belonging to the first or second building phase of the large basilica have been preserved, incorporated into the foundations of the last building phase. Motifs including diamonds, circles and a bird decorated pillars and arches. The most notable parts of the decoration are the head of a young beardless male painted in a medallion and a small fragment of a mural mosaic composition, in

which male heads can be distinguished. The surviving parts of this decoration can be dated, with due reservation, to the late 5th or early 6th c.

In St George Chostos, a small aisleless cruciform domed church at Lindos, the remains of nonfigurative²³² painted decoration (a gemmed cross in the conch of the apse and here and there crosses in circles) date to the 8th or 9th c.

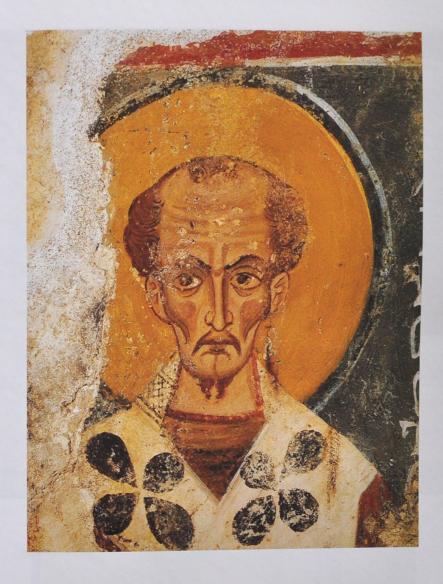
The full-length saints decorating the semicircular apse in the same church are from the second half of the 12th c. (fig. 55). In St Menas, also at Lindos, a small church of the same architectural type as the preceding one, there are late 12th or early 13th c. frescoes in the sanctuary.

The conventual church of the Monastery of St Michael²³³ at Thari contains some fine frescoes; one of the painted layers dates to the end of the 12th c. and another to the first half of the 13th c. The austere figures of three Church Fathers (fig. 56) belong to the first period. The 13th c. frescoes are painted on the vault, sanctuary walls and dome (figs 57-58).

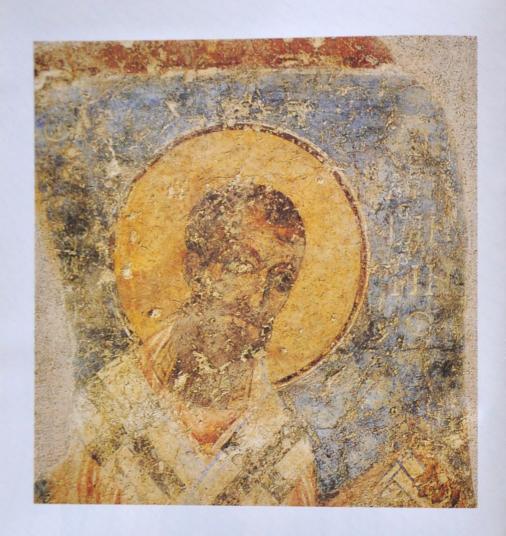
The recently excavated ruins of the Church of St Michael²³⁴ in Athinas Sq. in the medieval city have brought to light fragments of early 13th c. fresco decoration. An Enthroned Virgin, also 12th or early 13th c., decorates the cave church of the Virgin Eulo at Lindos.

Another excavation in Agisandrou St. in the medieval city revealed fragments of painted frescoes²³⁵ in a small cruciform church. Dating to the end of the 12th c., they are very fine paintings belonging to the so-called monumental style.

So far no portable icons earlier than the 14th c. have been found in Rhodes, al-



55. St John Chrysostome (late 12th c.). St George Chostos at Lindos.



56. Church Father (late 12th c.). Monastery of St Michael at Thari.

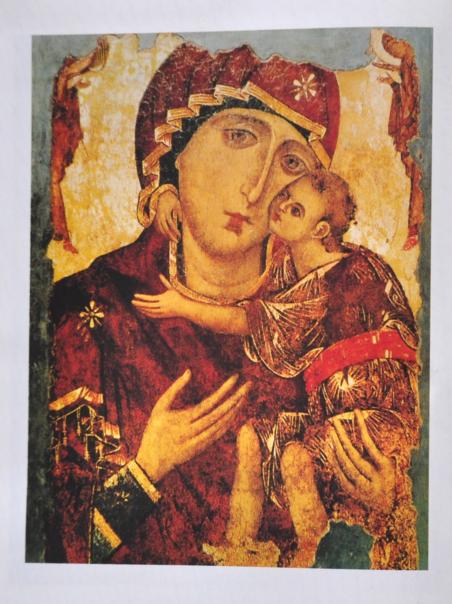
57. Romanus the Melodist (first half of the 13th c.). Monastery of St Michael at Thari.



58. Angel. Detail from the Ascension (first half of the 13th c.). Monastery of St Michael at Thari.



59. The donors. SS Theodore at Archangelos (1372).



60. The Virgin Damaskini (early 12th c.). Greek church of the Virgin Damaskini in Valetta on Malta.

though Malta has the Virgin Damaskini, one of the three famous miraculous icons which the Knights took with them when they left Rhodes (fig. 60). The other two icons were of the Virgin of Philerimos and the Eleimonitria. Tradition has it that the Philerimos and Damaskini icons were the work of St Luke. The first²³⁶ was donated by the Knights of Malta to the czar of Russia in 1799. After the 1917 revolution the icon was taken to the palace of the King of Yugoslavia. According to information, it has recently reappeared in Montenegro.

The icon of the Virgin Damaskini²³⁷ survived its adventures during the last war and is now restored and housed in the Greek Catholic church in Valetta. It belongs to the iconographic type of the Glykophilousa and is an excellent Constantinopolitan work of the early 12th c., stylistically related to the Vladimir Virgin in the Tretiakov Collection in Moscow. In old photographs of the Virgin Philerimos²³⁸, underneath the overpainting it has undergone, we can distinguish – with every reservation – a work that could be dated to the first half of the 12th c.

The icon of the Eleimonitria²³⁹ has survived in spite of the damage suffered by the church of that name from bombs in the last war. It is a very fine work which probably came from a Constantinopolitan workshop at the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th c. It has been considerably altered in the course of restoration work.

The only church from the period before the Knights whose frescoes can be dated with accuracy is St George Vardas²⁴⁰. Its frescoes were painted, according to the donor's inscription, in 1289/90. It is the work of a mediocre craftsman who followed earlier models and lacked inspiration and originality.

The second half of the 13th c. should, in my opinion, be the date of another group of paintings decorating the cave church of St Paraskevi (or St Nicetas²⁴¹) on the hill of Paradissi above the village of Damatria. The frescoes are mediocre and the artistic trends they represent were conservative for their time.

By contrast, the first layer of frescoes in St Phanourios²⁴² in the medieval city, dating to the 13th c., were executed by an artist of talent. Apart from these, there are a few other remains of 13th c. painting here and there in country churches and in the city.

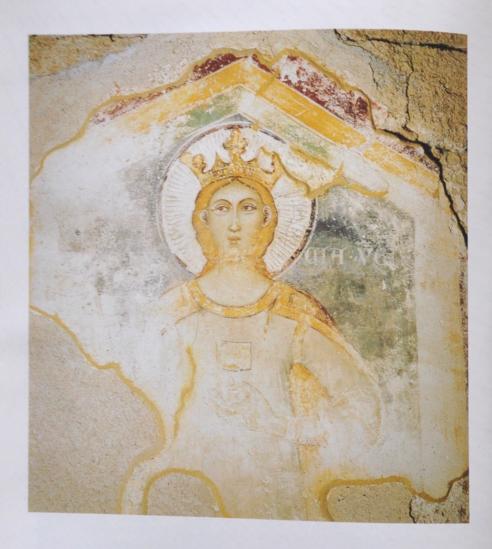
The surviving remnants of Byzantine painting in Rhodes, from the Early Christian period to the beginning of the 14th c., are fragmentary. The ravages of time, chance events and the historical vicissitudes of the island have destroyed the greater part of the artistic output of the nine centuries preceding the arrival of the Knights.

The few and incomplete surviving pictorial complexes do not allow us to judge the quality, origins and character of Byzantine painting before the Knights.

In the 213 years of Frankish rule over Rhodes and the Dodecanese three stylistic and iconographical trends can be distinguished: Western European, Late Byzzantine and Eclectic. These trends also express three different ideologies.

Western European Trend

Few examples of this trend have survived on the island, but it was certainly cultivated to a greater or lesser extent locally and portable works were imported from abroad.



61. St Lucia (14th c.). Our Lady of the Castle in the medieval city.

In Our Lady of the Castle, the Catholic cathedral under the Knights, the figure of St Lucia²⁴³ (fig. 61) on the west wall is compatible with the work of the 14th c. Tuscan school. Some of the public and private buildings in Rhodes were embellished with Western European paintings. An example can be seen in the remains of the frescoes which were consolidated and detached from the walls of the Hospitaller governor's residence at Lindos; they came from a stone wainscoting adorning the walls of a room. They depict the coats of arms of Grand Master d'Aubusson with the cardinal's hat (1489-1503) and of the Castellan of Lindos, J. d'Aymer de la Chevalerie, as well as heraldic dolphins and fleurs-de-lis. Remains of painted decoration were recently found in a vaulted room at 6 Gavala St. in the medieval city. They include a series of coats of arms, the city with its harbours, probably at the time of the 1480 siege (standards are visible on top of the walls with the arms of Grand Master P. d'Aubusson), and probable allegorical scenes. They date to the late 15th or early 16th c.

The painter Witdoek, who accompanied the traveller Rottiers to Rhodes in 1826, copied a large fresco²⁴⁴ of Grand Master D. de Gozon slaying a dragon. According to Rottiers, this fresco was in a building in the Collachium district.

The same visitor reports seeing the remains of frescoes depicting battles on the walls of rooms in the Grand Master's Palace.

The superb miniatures (figs 27, 40, 84-85, 88-89) in the Latin codex 6067 in the National Library of Paris belong to the international Gothic style. They were painted in about 1483-1489, most probably in Rhodes, and illustrate various epi-

sodes in the text by scholar and vicechancellor of the Order, G. Caoursin, including his description of the siege of Rhodes in 1480, the great earthquake of 1481, and the reception and sojourn in Rhodes of the refugee Ottoman prince, Djem, brother of the Sultan Bayazet.

Our knowledge of the Western European style of painting, though far from complete, is supplemented by information about works now lost.

In 1493 Grand Master P. d'Aubusson commissioned tapestries from Flanders²⁴⁵ to adorn the walls of the palace and the Church of St John of the Collachium. Among other subjects, they depicted the conquest of Rhodes by Grand Master F. de Villaret in 1309 and various episodes from the siege of Rhodes in 1480. Other tapestries²⁴⁶ ordered by Grand Master d'Amboise in 1505 show the famous battle of the Knights against Saladin in Karamania.

The large stained glass windows²⁴⁷ of Our Lady of the Castle and St John of the Collachium depicted saints and coats of arms. In a recent excavation in Our Lady of Victory fragments of stained glass were found that were obviously from its windows.

Large and small works of art²⁴⁸ accumulated in St John of the Collachium from donations by Eastern and Western rulers, Grand Masters and rich Knights. Travellers who visited Rhodes at the time spoke of them with wonder. J. Bosio²⁴⁹, for example, tells us that the Knight Charles Alemand de la Rochechinard, prior of Saint-Gilles, donated panels showing the mysteries of the Rosary, a valuable gold cross worth 2,276 gold pieces, a statue of the Virgin and twelve statues of the apostles, all made of gold and silver.

Late Byzantine Trend

This is represented by approximately 35 works of art in Rhodes and 40 more on the other Dodecanese islands. The Late Byzantine or Palaeologan trend in the 14th c. produced works of a high standard. Murals like those in the Virgin Katholiki (of the Assumption) at the village of Aphantou, in St George Pachymachiotis at Lindos, those removed from the walls of St Zacharias on Chalki (an island closely associated administratively and economically with Rhodes since the 14th c.; hence the donors of the Chalki frescoes were either Rhodians or else shared the same aesthetic tastes), and others, were the work of skilled and talented artists250.

In the medieval city and its environs seven churches have remained which contain frescoes exemplifying this trend: St Phanourios (plan I, no. 18), St Catherine (plan I, no. 34), St Artemius (plan I, no. 24), SS Constantine and Helena (plan I, no. 26), St John the Precursor (plan I, no. 28), an unidentified church in Pythagora St. (plan I, no. 32), and SS Cosmas and Damian outside the medieval city. In St Phanourios and St Catherine the iconographic programmes are almost intact.

St Phanourios²⁵¹ is of the free cruciform type with a dome. The earliest painted layer, which was uncovered in a few places in the church, dates to the 13th c. It is covered by two more layers. The year of the death of one of the donors, 1335/36 according to an inscription, we believe dates one of the layers (fig. 62), and iconographic and stylistic features also confirm that the painter worked in the second quarter of the 14th c. The third layer of painting is dated to the late 14th or 15th c. The centre of the dome is decorated with the Pantocrator, and below it the Divine Liturgy, with full-length pro-

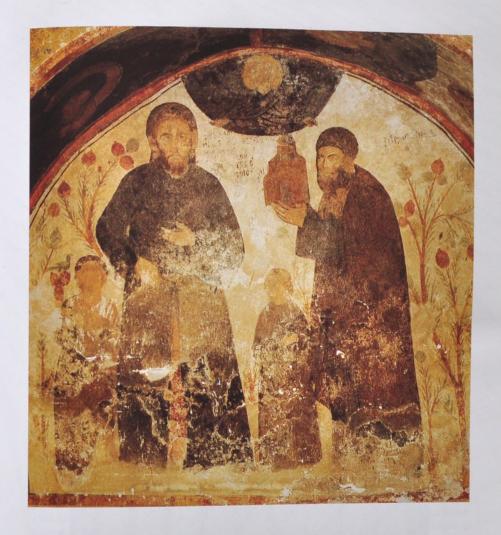
phets lower down. The rest of the iconographic programme is developed on the vaults and walls: the Twelve Great Feasts, full-length figures and busts of saints, and scenes from the life of John the Baptist. Both layers were painted by skilled artists.

St Catherine²⁵² is a three-aisled barrel-vaulted church. In the nave vault are the Twelve Great Feasts and in the conch the Deesis. The bust of Christ flanked by the founding couple is on the west wall of the nave above the entrance: on the left the husband presents a model of the church and on the right his wife holds out a purse.

The colours are bright and harmonious, the figures fresh and lively (fig. 63), the postures dramatic, and a sense of space is conveyed by a succession of different tones. The treatment of the folds covering the parts of the body is skilful. The figures of saints adorning the north aisle, including a mounted St George slaying the dragon, the Archangel Michael and the prophet Aaron, appear to belong to the same painted layer, dating to the second half of the 14th c.

In the south aisle are figures and scenes dating most probably to the end of the 15th c., among them the Last Supper, the Hospitality of Abraham, full-length saints, St Catherine and scenes from her life.

Five double-sided portable icons have been found in Rhodes: Pantocrator and Crucifixion²⁵⁵ (Church of SS Cosmas and Damian in the city), Virgin and Luke the Evangelist²⁵⁴, Virgin and Symeon Stylites (Collection of the 4th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities), Virgin and Crucifixion (Church of the Virgin at Lindos), Virgin and St Nicholas²⁵⁵ (from the Church of the Presentation of the Virgin in the city) (fig. 70). All of them, together with an icon of the Pantocrator on the iconostasis in the



62. Church donors (1335/36). St Phanourios in the medieval city.



63. St Peter. St Catherine in the medieval city (second half of the 14th c.).

Church of the Virgin at Lindos, are excellent works of 14th c. Constantinopolitan art, especially the one in the Church of the Presentation of the Virgin. The Palaeologan trend of the 14th c. expressed the aesthetic taste of virtually all the Rhodians, with possibly a few exceptions.

In the 15th c., on the other hand, when the ideology of the Greek bourgeois in Rhodes was undergoing a change, acquiring more of a Frankish-Greek slant, Palaeologan painting probably remained the aesthetic expression of the conservative upper-class Greeks, the lower ranks of the clergy and the simple town and country folk; the bourgeoisie favoured an eclectic trend whose roots were in the previous century but which was now gaining ground. Palaeologan painting of the 15th c. in Rhodes (Holy Trinity at Psinthos 1407/8, St Nicholas at Maritsa 1435, St Thomas at Mesanagros, St George Petroniatis at Archangelos, amongst others) did not follow contemporary developments and usually looked to earlier periods for its models.

Eclectic Trend

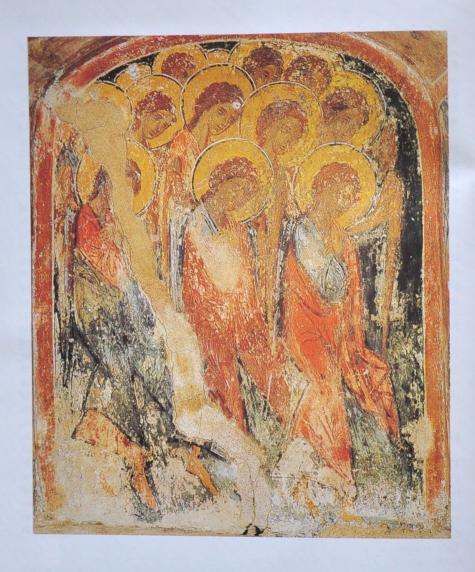
The blend of Byzantine and Western European elements or their conjunction that characterise this trend in Rhodes can be traced back to the second quarter of the 14th c.: in what has survived of the mural decoration of Our Lady of the Castle²⁵⁶. This consists of two full-length female saints and the Virgin and Child painted on the northwest pillars of the church.

In the 15th c., and particularly its second half and the early 16th c., this trend seems to have acquired its definitive form. Five portable icons (fig. 71) and frescoes in the eclectic style have been identified in ten buildings in Rhodes. In the medieval city

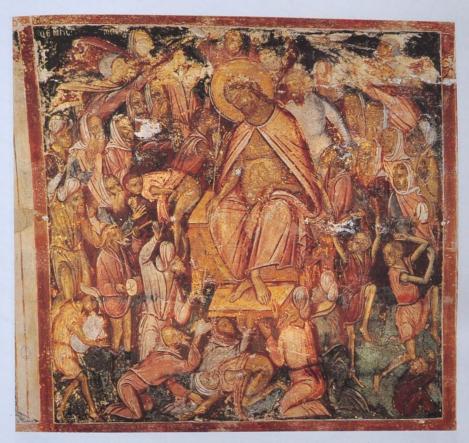
these are the Holy Trinity²⁵⁷ (Dolaply Mesjid) (plan I, no. 16), St Spyridon²⁵⁸ (plan I, no. 17), the chapel of St George²⁵⁹ at the East Tower of the Collachium wall (plan I, no. 14), the Castellania²⁶⁰ (plan I, no. 54), St Bernardin (or St Nicholas) (plan I, no. 22); and in the countryside St Nicholas at Trianda²⁶¹, St George Chostos²⁶² at Philerimos, Purification²⁶³ and St Habakkuk at Paradissi and the Virgin Parmeniotissa²⁶⁴ at Psinthos.

The variety of the compositions and human figures and the profuse iconographic programme of the eclectic trend in painting point to master painters who had at their fingertips a wide range of subjects which they made use of. The sources²⁶⁵ for their material were contemporary painting and the earlier traditional Byzantine and Western European painting traditions. It is hard for us to comprehend the formative process behind the repertoire employed by the painters of this style. The clear identification of pictorial complexes in Rhodes inspired by eclecticism, the earliest of which date to the second quarter of the 14th and the latest to the first two decades of the 16th c., indicate, I believe, the permanent presence in the Dodecanese of a group of artists familiar with this style. The members of this group probably exchanged opinions, compositions, designs, etc., and appropriated material assimilated from their personal familiarity with the Byzantine and Western European works of art that were to be found in Rhodes.

These painters were not content to search for iconographic and stylistic details in the rich traditions of Byzantium and the West to solve the problems they faced; they created new compositions, some of which, so far as we know, remain unique, without precedent or sequel²⁶⁶, while others continued into the post-Byzantine period.



64. Angels (1490-1510). St Nicholas at Trianda.



65. The Mocking of Christ (1490-1510). St Nicholas at Trianda.

They showed great boldness in the sphere of iconography; that of the artist who painted St Nicholas at Trianda, for example, is unmatched by any contemporary Western European painter. In his representation of the Mocking of Christ, some of the beggars²⁶⁷ (fig. 65) lift up their tunics and bare their backsides to Christ, while others further away make indecent gestures, holding up their fists with

the thumb between the first and middle fingers.

Research²⁶⁸ has shown that the eclectic trend in painting, allowing for the local peculiarities evident in different places, was not confined to any single closely defined region, nor did it develop over a limited period of time. Its spread can be traced, particularly in the late 15th and

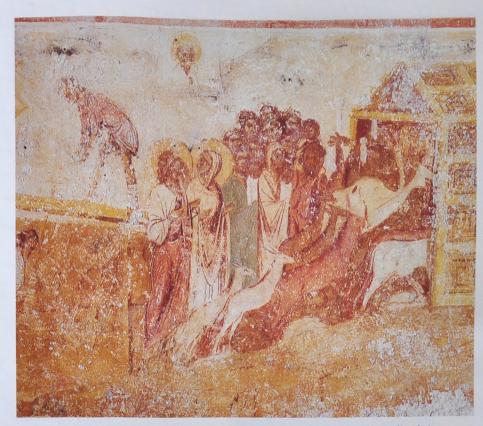


66. Male figure (early 16th c.). Detail from the ceiling of the Castellania.

early 16th c., from the Balkans to Cyprus and Crete, and we now know that the most important centres where it was cultivated were the towns of Crete. We also know that the painters who followed this trend were able not only to combine elements of Byzantine and Western art in their compositions, but also to produce works that

were either purely Western European or purely Byzantine.

On Rhodes this group of painters appears to have been active right after the great destructions wrought by the Ottoman siege of 1480 and the great earthquake of 1481. New public and private buildings

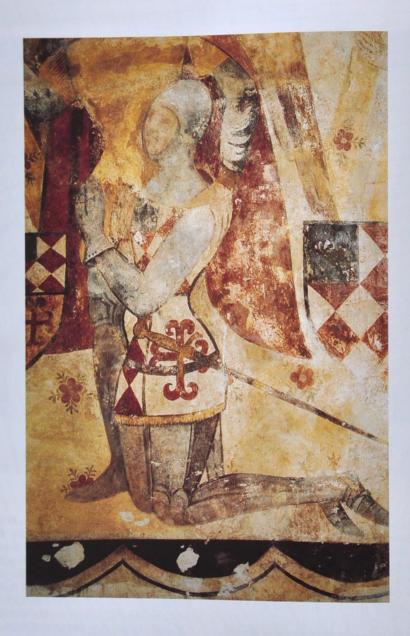


67. Noah entering the ark with his family (1490-1510). Holy Trinity in the medieval city.

were being constructed at this time and old ones being repaired or refurbished. Some of them were embellished with mural paintings. The patrons and recipients of this trend were burghers²⁶⁹, both Latins and Greeks, and the same phenomenon can also be observed in Cyprus and Crete.

The decoration in the Castellania (fig. 66), in the chapel of St George on the Collachium wall and the Church of the Purification at Paradissi was undoubtedly

funded by Franks. The first, in fact, being a public building, was paid for by the Order or its officials, and the other two by the Tongue of England or by Knights whose coats of arms, especially in the case of the second, are depicted here and there. The donors of the frescoes in Our Lady of the Castle (fig. 61), which was the Catholic Cathedral in the time of the Knights, can only have been the senior clergy of the Latin Church or Knights, or even the Catholic Archbishop of Rhodes himself.



68. Knight (15th c.). St George Chostos at Philerimos.

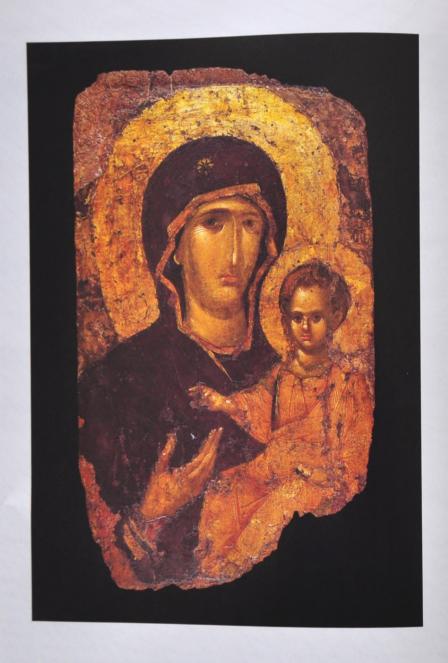


69. Birth of St Nicholas (second half of the 15th c.) (detail). St Bernardin (or St Nicholas) in the medieval city.

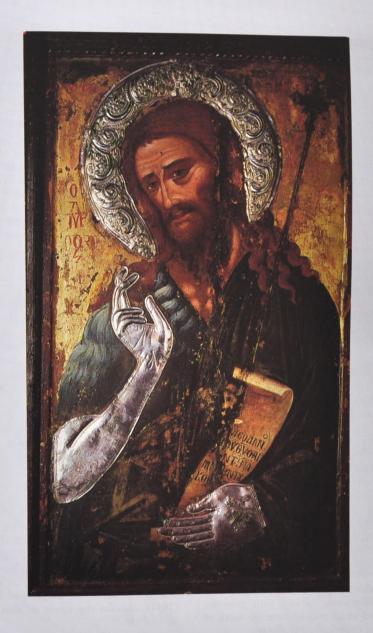
Knights or other Europeans were the patrons of St George Chostos (fig. 68) at Philerimos and St Habakkuk at Paradissi. On the other hand the decoration of St Nicholas at Trianda (figs 64-65), the Virgin Parmeniotissa, Holy Trinity (fig. 67), St Spyridon and St Bernardin (or St Nicholas) (fig. 69) were paid for by the donations and labour of Greeks. These Greeks seem to have been burghers who had accepted the political authority

of the Knights and embraced the Frankish Greek ideology.

The general conclusion is that the patrons and more generally the recipients of the painting of the eclectic style were not restricted to any one nationality or religious persuasion. This style of art suited the aesthetic tastes of the majority of the urban class in Rhodes under the Franks irrespective of nationality or beliefs.



70. Virgin Hodegetria (second quarter of the 14th c.). Grand Master's Palace, Rhodes.



71. St John the Baptist (15th c.). St John, Rhodes.

SCULPTURE

Most of the Early Christian and Byzantine sculpture in Rhodes consists of marble architectural members such as capitals, columns, mullions, templon panels and epistyles, parts of marble pulpits, etc. Fragments of Early Christian marble altars, sarcophagi and stone baptismal fonts have also survived.

Many of them are fine pieces of sculpture; we will briefly mention just a few: an Early Christian round marble altar table270 depicting on its broad rim relief hunting scenes and two heads, a male and a female. A fragment of an Early Christian sarcophagus²⁷¹ decorated with a relief arcade is considered to be a rare example of its type in Greece. From an Early Christian basilica near the village of Kalathos come large basket capitals with fragments of marble epistyles, testifying to the existence once of a fine large church. The cubical capitals brought by the Italians from the Early Christian basilica at Arnitha²⁷² to the Grand Master's Palace, which now crown the columns in the west wing, resemble those of Justinian's Holy Wisdom at Constantinople and date to the second half of the 6th c. In the 6th c. there was a workshop of marble workers²⁷³ where the architectural elements were carved in Lartian stone (a local grey marble).

The marble head²⁷⁴ of a small statue of the Good Shepherd, now lost and about which little more can therefore be said, dated to the 4th c.

The marble Byzantine templon epistyles²⁷⁵ from Philerimos, carved with rosettes, knots and small arcades, are the work of first-class, experienced craftsmen.

The surviving sculptures from the Hospitaller period are more numerous and note-

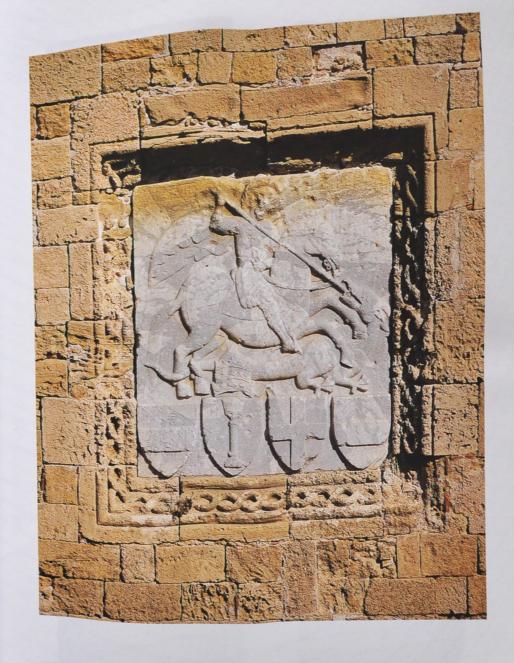
worthy. The walls, towers and advance wall of the enceinte are embellished with reliefs of saints, angels, fabulous beasts and the arms of Grand Masters. The Grand Masters, dignitaries of the Order and ordinary Knights also incorporated their coats of arms in the façades of public and private buildings during their construction or repair. The tombs of Grand Masters, Knights, nobles and bourgeois, both Frank and Greek (fig. 81), had tombstones on which the figure of the dead person or his arms was carved in relief, surrounded by ornaments and inscriptions. The grave-slabs so far recovered number more than fifty.

Most of the surviving sculptures date to the second half of the 15th or early 16th c. Very few works can be assigned to Byzantine art, like the Archangel Michael²⁷⁶ on the wall south of the D'Amboise Gate, St Athanasius²⁷⁷ incised on a marble slab built into the tower of that name and, finest of all, St Theodore Stratelates (?)²⁷⁸ on the wall in the sector of the Tongue of England (fig. 39).

Two techniques were used: incision and relief, the second of which may be high or low.

The works of the 14th and most of the 15th c. are in the Late Gothic style. This period is not without works by fine artists, for example those depicting Grand Masters P. de Corneillan²⁷⁹ (†1355) and Petrus de la Pymoraye²⁸⁰ (1402) (fig. 73) on their deathbeds, a mounted St George and Dragon²⁸¹ (1421-1431) (fig. 72) on the bastion of that name, the Virgin and Child²⁸² (1441), also on the tower of that name, and others.

The Italian Renaissance spread to the islands from the end of the 15th c. and elements of it are plainly visible, as was pointed



72. Relief of St George fighting the Dragon (1421-1431). Bastion of St George (see fig. 37).





73. Archaeological Museum. Relief tombstone of Petrus de la Pymoraye (1402). 74. Archaeological Museum. Relief tombstone of Thomas Newport (1502).



75. Archaeological Museum. Relief tombstone of Renier Pot (1498).



76. Marble Renaissance arcosoliun (early 16th c.) (today a doorway in the Suleimaniye Mosque).



77. Marble Renaissance arcosolium (early 16th c.) (today a doorway in the Suleimaniye Mosque). Detail.

out in connection with architecture. Tombstones like those of Renier Pot²⁸⁵ (†1498) (fig. 75), Thomas Provana²⁸⁴ (†1499) and Thomas Newport (†1502) (fig. 74) are Renaissance works of art, as are the angels holding E. d'Amboise's coat of arms (†1510) on the D'Amboise Gate, the lion and griffin supporting d'Aubusson's arms (1487) on the Gate of St Athanasius, the half-finished relief of St Michael²⁸⁵, among others.

Two early 16th c. marble Renaissance door-frames have already been mentioned: one surrounding the portal of Djem's House²⁸⁶ (fig. 79) and the other at the Castellania²⁸⁷ (fig. 80).

The most important Renaissance sculpture is a large section of a marble monumental tomb²⁸⁸, used to frame the door of the Suleimaniye Mosque. It was the arcosolium (figs 76-78) surrounding the sarcophagus of some nobleman, Knight or Grand Mas-

ter. The little columns and pilasters are crowned respectively with ionicising capitals and imposts. The visible sides of the pilasters are decorated with relief representations of weapons, trumpets, water-clocks, foliage and ornaments. The soffits of the arch are covered with stylised foliate ornamentation. The whole work was elegantly carved by the skilled hand of a Renaissance artist in the first two decades of the 16th c.

The carved wooden doors²⁸⁹ from the east portal of the great Hospital of the Knights, now at Versailles, are regarded as very fine works of sculpture. Each door consists of wooden panels decorated with Late Gothic relief ornaments in the form of rosettes, stars, etc. High up on both doors an angel holds the arms of Grand Master E. d'Amboise, and lower down those of Ph. V. de l'Isle-Adam, who was Grand Hospitaller (magnus hospitalarius) at the time. Below the shields is cut the date it was carved: 1512.

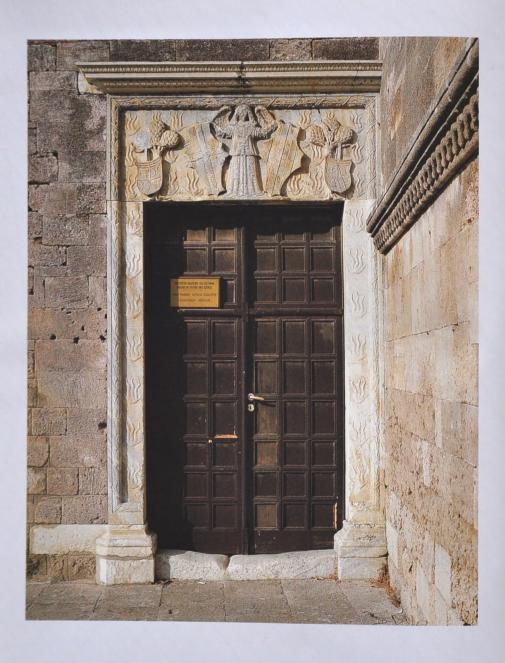
Notes 1-289 on pp. 185-191



78. Marble Renaissance arcosolium (early 16th c.) (today a doorway in the Suleimaniye Mosque). Detail.



79. Marble doorframe in the "House of Djem" (early 16th c.).

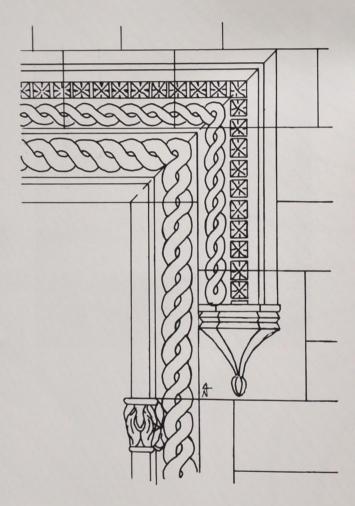


80. Portal of the Castellania (early 16th c.).



81. Coat of arms of a Greek burgher (1513). Grand Master's Palace, Rhodes.

THE PALACE OF THE GRAND MASTER



B uilt on the highest point of the northwest corner of the medieval city, it dominated the town and harbours. Strong and solidly joined to the fortifications, it played a vital role in the city's defense as well as serving as the final refuge should the city be taken by the enemy.

It is rectangular in plan (plan IV), measuring 80x75 m, and constructed around a large courtyard of some 50x40 m.

With the conquest of Rhodes by the Ottomans, the palace was left to its fate and after a time it began to fall into decay. The strong earthquakes that rocked the city from time to time completed its ruination. Until the middle of the 19th c., however, it preserved at least outwardly its original appearance. The final blow was dealt in 1856 by a huge explosion² of the ammunition stored underground in the Church of St John of the Collachium facing the palace and a few metres south of it; this left only the ground floor standing. The structure was further damaged by the Ottomans, who used it as a prison and built various mean structures in the courtyard.

Descriptions of the palace in medieval historical sources are very summary. J. Bosio refers to it frequently, but without helping us to understand it. Travellers and scholars visiting Rhodes or residing there in the 19th and early 20th c., like Rottiers3, V. Guerin⁴, A. Berg, C. T. Newton, E. Biliotti and A. Cottret⁵, Belabre⁶ and others visited and described the palace in varying degrees of detail, but due to its ruined condition, especially on the inside, their information is scanty and much of it ambiguous. The engravings of Rottiers7, Flandin⁸ and Berg⁹, showing many views of the interior and a few of the courtyard, are invaluable from every point of view.

A. Gabriel¹⁰ was the first to make a more systematic study of the history of the Grand Master's Palace, and he tried to give a picture of it as it was in the time of the Knights. In 1933/34 P. Lojacono¹¹ excavated and consolidated the west and northwest sides of the building, but the information he gives and his conclusions are shaky and questionable.

We do know from references in 7th c. Arab and early 9th c. Byzantine sources that the



82. South view of the Grand Master's Palace (engraving: E. Flandin).

Grand Master's Palace was built as a stronghold at the end of the 7th c. and was the citadel of the Early Byzantine fortress. It is now clear that parts of the ground floor and basement of the building belong to the first building phase and are easily recognisable from the ashlar masonry of large poros blocks. The exterior outline of the palace, with the exception of occasional minor additions and alterations, has remained the same.

The north side was always crucial to the defense of the city and it was heavily reinforced in the first building phase. Two strong rectangular towers¹² dominated its

two extremities at the northwest and northeast corners (plans III, nos 1, 15, and IV, nos 35, 17). On the northwest the high ground extended northwards and the whole of the tower at that corner jutted out, while the northeast tower, because of the terrain, was built some metres further back and more to the south on the brow of the hill. The latter, together with a large part of the north wall, being right on the edge of the declivity, sloped down to the foot of the hill.

A wall some 2 m thick in the basement (plan III) starts from the southeast corner of the northwest tower, runs eastwards for



83. West view of the Grand Master's Palace (engraving: E. Flandin).

a distance of about 8 m and joins the northwest corner of a solid rectangular structure, 9x8 m (area 6A), whose eastern side is as high as the ground floor, where it is 3 m thick. Excavations in area 6 in the basement have revealed part of a wall 2 m thick, which starts from the southeast corner of the solid rectangular structure, and running eastwards probably joined the southwest corner of the northeast tower. We can therefore presume that in an early building phase of the palace areas 2 to 14 in the basement (plan III), as well as 11 to 16 and 36 to 36Γ (plan IV) did not exist. Furthermore, rectangular structure 6A (plan III), from its location, shape and solid foundation, must have formed the lower part of a tower. Nevertheless the masonry of the wall of the present exterior north side of the palace basement is ashlar with courses 0.50 m high, like all the Byzantine fortifications in Rhodes, and this at least suggests, even if it does not prove, that the wall was moved some 4 m further north from its original position at some early time and certainly before the Hospitaller period.

The west side of the palace (figs 3, 83) was just as important for the defense of the city as the north face, especially in the pre-Hospitaller period: at that time the



84. Council Chamber. Grand Master's Palace (cod. Par. lat. 6067, fol. 83v) (1483-1489).



85. Northern part of the medieval city of Rhodes, Fort St Nicholas and the Grand Master's Palace in 1480 (cod. Par. lat. 6067, fol. 80v) (1483-1489).



86. Council Chamber, after Rottiers (engraving).

D'Amboise Gate fortifications did not exist and it was therefore directly exposed to the enemy.

A wall 3 m thick between areas 3 to 10 (plan IV) runs from south to north and ends at the northwest tower. With its ashlar masonry, like that described above, it seems evident that in an early building phase it probably formed the exterior west side of the palace and was not an internal dividing wall as it is now. Excavation in the present outer courtyard of the palace shows that the wall continued to the south, forming at this point the west

wall of the Byzantine town (plan II, no. 7).

In a second pre-Hospitaller building phase was built the oblong room 4, south of the palace; its masonry, at least on the inside, is ashlar with courses 0.50 m high.

A section of the south side of the palace (figs 5, 82, 94), the most westerly, some 25 m long, undoubtedly belongs to the Byzantine period of the building. An excavation in room 19 of the basement (plan IV) also uncovered a length of up to 30 m of the outer Byzantine wall of the palace, which coincides exactly with that of



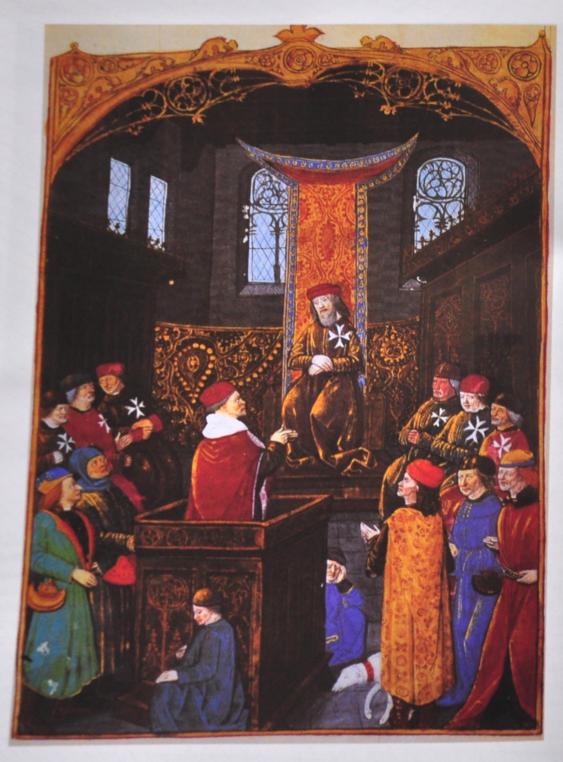
87. Northeast side at the courtyard at the Grand Master's Palace, after A. Berg (engraving).

the Knights. It is ashlar, with large poros about 0.50 m high.

The Grand Master's Palace has come down to us in the form it acquired during the Hospitaller period, having, however, suffered extensive, drastic and often arbitrary alterations in the course of "restoration" efforts on the part of the governor of the Dodecanese, C. M. de Vecchi, under the Italian occupation.

To judge from Grand Master H. de Villeneuve's (1319-1346) arms¹³ (fig. 82), which were originally set into the wall over the south gate of the palace, the Knights began at least as early as the first half of the 14th c. to repair, modify and preserve the Byzantine citadel and to convert it into the residence of the Grand Master and the administrative centre of the Hospitaller state.

The main gate is on the south side of the palace (figs 5, 94, plan IV). On either side stood a horseshoe-shaped tower, preserved in its original form up to the first floor. The cylindrical moulding surrounding the portal and the splayed bases of the towers point to their construction, or



88. Council Chamber. Grand Master's Palace (cod. Par. lat. 6067, fol. 87) (1483-1489).

very probably their repair or alteration, in the Hospitaller period.

The same applies to the horseshoe-shaped tower standing at the northeast corner of the building.

At the beginning of the 20th c., when the Italians occupied Rhodes, the west façade of the palace was certainly standing as high as the first floor, but it had undergone major alterations. Illustrations of it, like the engravings by Rottiers¹⁴ and Flandin¹⁵ (fig. 83), Lojacono's "excavations", and the nine miniatures in codex Par. lat. 6067, or the Caoursin Codex16 (fols 18, 19v, 24v, 26, 30v, 32v, 37v, 48v and 80v), are of some help in studying its history and changes over time. Some 15 m south of the northwest rectangular tower is another gate¹⁷, which the Italians found blocked up and which they restored, although recent excavation carried out there has produced no evidence for its shape or measurements. The miniatures in the Caoursin codex, however, depict its interior view very clearly (figs 40, 85 and 95).

In the engravings by the above two writers a rectangular tower of oblong plan can be seen standing to the west and in front of the gate; it was destroyed at some unknown date and "restored" by the Italian governor, de Vecchi. Lojacono¹⁸, while investigating the remains of the ground floor, found large arched openings piercing the north and south sides; one gave access to the palace from the west gate, and from the other a road ran south (plans II, IV) leading through the D'Amboise Gate and out of the city into the country. There was also a gate northwest of the palace giving entry to the palace from the west, which is illustrated in the Caoursin codex (figs 40, 85 and 95). This was the only gate on the west side of the Collachium, at least in the time of the

Knights, and it afforded direct access to the countryside from the Grand Master's Palace.

The name "Master Builder's Gate" 19 given by the Greeks to the D'Amboise Gate, at least in the 19th c., may well have had the meaning of Grand Master's Gate, an allusion to its direct connection with the palace, a convenience possessed by no other gate.

The miniatures (figs 40, 85, 95) in the Caoursin codex do not illustrate the oblong tower that commanded the west gate, in contrast to the two horseshoe-shaped towers flanking the south gate of the palace. Very probably, therefore, the west tower had not been built at the time the artist illustrated the codex, and thus the date of the painting of the miniatures (1483-1489) may be considered a terminus post quem for its construction.

To judge from Grand Master d'Aubusson's coat of arms set in the west façade over room 5 on the ground floor, some building work must have taken place at that time.

Given the date of 1483-1489, which we assume to be the terminus post quem for the oblong tower in front of the west gate, the coat of arms on the façade of room 5 and the severe damage caused by the Ottoman bombardment during the great siege of 1480 and the earthquake of 1481, it may be suggested that it was d'Aubusson, Grand Master at the time, who carried out the repairs to the west wing and built the tower.

Outside the northwest side of the palace in the Byzantine period a strong rectangular tower projected outwards, and from its base the hill sloped downwards, probably steeply, enabling it to command the surrounding terrain. At an unknown date in the time of the Knights an area of about 70x50 m was banked up in front of the Byzantine tower and high retaining walls were built around it to contain the fill. A gun emplacement²⁰, known from historical sources, was installed on its northern edge, and the range of the cannon could reach the enemy in Mandraki harbour. This was probably the site of the Grand Master's garden, which was famous for its exotic animals. A narrow moat separated it from the palace, with which it communicated by a gate and drawbridge.

The narrow moat, gate and drawbridge are visible in the Caoursin codex (figs 40, 85, 95). A high rectangular tower²¹, whose façade incorporates d'Aubusson's coat of arms, stands in approximately the middle of the north wing of the palace. And Carretto's arms are carved²² in three vaulted rooms uncovered by Lojacono in the northwest corner of the courtyard, testifying to the building activities here of that Grand Master, "renovator of the city" (urbis instaurator), as he is described on his tombstone²³.

On the north side of the palace, where the sloping ground allowed it, there were underground rooms on three levels (plan III). They served as storerooms and might be used as refuges by the non-combatant population of the city during enemy attack. Suleiman the Magnificent's doctor, Ramadan²⁴, in his description of the second great siege of Rhodes, mentions them, adding that they formed a second subterranean fortress so vast it could hold all the inhabitants of the city together with their possessions; he also writes that they were adorned with frescoes and valuable objects. The picture painted by Ramadan, however, belongs more to the realm of fancy25 than fact. The south gate gave access through a vaulted passage to a wide rectangular courtyard (fig. 87, plan IV), in the floor of which were sunk some ten huge circular silos for storing grain²⁶.

Three of them have survived on the east side of the courtyard, made to look like wells by the heavy marble parapets added by the Italians.

Around the courtyard on the ground floor of the palace were small and large vaulted rooms serving as storerooms, stables, kitchens, etc. Many of the vaulted roofs had collapsed and very few were rebuilt by de Vecchi's restorers who, in fact, arbitrarily added flat roofs to some of them. In the Caoursin codex a series of parallel ground-floor vaulted rooms can be seen in the southwest wing (figs 40, 85, 95). A door in the east wall of the first and most easterly room led into their interior.

The upper floor of the palace had entirely collapsed after the middle of the 19th c. and very little of it survived by the 1930's, when the work of "restoration" started. Bosio and other chroniclers made frequent mention of rooms on the upper floor, but without giving any details. It is certain, however, that the upper floor had a series of reception rooms in addition to the apartments of the Grand Master and his entourage, including the great hall (?), council chamber, refectory, rooms called in common "Margaritae", the chapel, and so on.

According to Rottiers²⁷ (fig. 86) and Biliotti²⁸, a broad staircase with nine steps, hard by the entrance to the palace, led to a large room in which two marble columns supporting the ceiling still stood. Rottiers, for no obvious reason, calls this room the "audience chamber" and adds that the remains of frescoes with battle scenes could still be seen.

Merri Dupuis²⁹ states that two marble pillars supported the vault ("voulte") of an



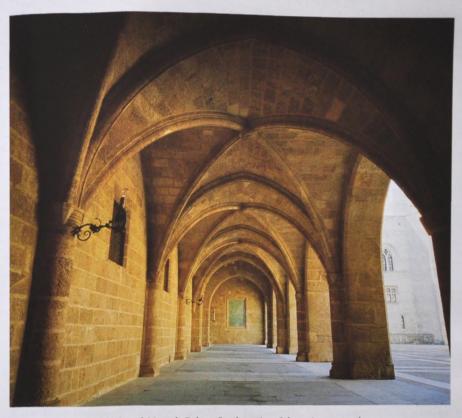
89. Dining hall at the Grand Master's Palace (cod. Par. lat. 6067, fol. 186v) (1483-1489).



90. Courtyard of the Grand Master's Palace, from the SW.

upper-floor room where the Knights dined. We cannot, however, state with certainty that the room seen by Rottiers and drawn by his painter on the first floor near the south gate of the palace was necessarily the Knights' refectory mentioned by Dupuis.

Historical accounts also mention the chamber³⁰ where the Grand Master held ceremonial banquets. In fol. 186v of the Caoursin codex the artist depicts the Grand Master's ceremonial dining hall (fig. 89) and d'Aubusson dining with his guest, the Ottoman Prince Djem, or Zizim. The table is laid and the two diners are seated beneath a canopy suspended from the ceiling. Servants come and go bearing platters of food, while on the right six musicians, with three more on a high balcony, entertain the two official personages with music from wind in-



91. Grand Master's Palace. South portico of the main courtyard.

struments. The refectory is a large high room with a wooden ceiling and walls hung with Eastern wall rugs. The miniature faithfully reproduces the dinner. D'Aubusson, according to Bosio³¹, had invited the finest musicians in Rhodes for the occasion, among them an Englishman with a wonderful voice who played an instrument made of four pipes bound together. As the Ottoman prince did not appear enthusiastic about Western music,

however, the Grand Master ordered them to fetch a Turkish slave who worked in the kitchen, and he, playing and singing Turkish songs, succeeded in somewhat diverting the Knights' exalted guest. At the right-hand side of the miniature can be seen the thin figure of the English musician holding his four-reed flute, while on his right stands the turbaned Turkish slave playing a wind instrument.

The official dining hall, at least as illustrated in the Caoursin codex, does not appear to bear any resemblance to the chamber described by Merri Dupuis32, where, according to him, the Knights used to dine: the former had a wooden ceiling, while the latter, Dupuis writes, had an arched or cross-vaulted ceiling supported by two pillars or columns; unless, of course, we are to believe that after the destruction of the vaulted ceiling by the Ottoman bombardment in the first great siege (1480), an event also mentioned by Dupuis, the Knights gave it a flat timber roof. In any case it was in the refectory33, which seems to have been a splendid and imposing chamber, that Grand Master Villiers de l'Isle-Adam received Sultan Suleiman, when he was leaving for Europe after his defeat.

The Caoursin codex painter illustrates six of the rooms in the palace³⁴ (fols 3v, 22v, 83v, 87, 161 and 178v), but neither the miniaturist nor the author described their function or their location in the palace. To judge by their decoration and the persons and events depicted in them, they were ceremonial rooms.

Given the accuracy usually shown by the codex painter in his other illustrations, which can be checked, the rooms were probably painted with relative fidelity. Even if the miniaturist himself was not very familiar with these rooms, which is unlikely, since in some of them ordinary people are shown present at official ceremonies or important functions, Caoursin himself certainly knew them well. He was also the man who wrote the codex and commissioned the illustrations; more importantly, he was vice-chancellor of the Order and thus a member of the Grand Master's close circle, going in and out of the palace every day.

He would therefore surely not have allow-

ed his artist to falsify the appearance of the rooms in which the events he himself describes were enacted, and he would no doubt have made sure that any inaccuracies were corrected.

Fol. 3v shows the interior of a large room (fig. 27). Grand Master d'Aubusson is seated at the end with the eight heads (piliers) of the Tongues of the Order of St John on benches along the walls on either side. An official ceremony is in progress: Caoursin on his knees presents d'Aubusson with the codex he has dedicated to him. Behind, two groups of Knights and citizens dressed in sumptuous garments of many colours are watching the ceremony and conversing. The scene is enlivened by the fine hunting dogs accompanying the Knights, and little dogs, monkeys and parrots grace the room, which has a flat timber ceiling supported by heavy corbelled beams. The Grand Master's simple throne is draped with an orange embroidered cloth. At his back a long, narrow, richly decorated tapestry hangs from the ceiling. At each side of the end wall the blue Rhodian sky can be seen through tall, narrow, arched windows; a little monkey sits on each sill. Two figures outside the windows, probably standing on a balcony, are playing with the monkeys.

The two miniatures on fols 83v and 87 depict the interiors of two of the palace rooms. The first (fig. 84) shows Caoursin standing before the Grand Master and six dignitaries of the Order reading a letter from Pope Sixtus IV addressed to the Grand Master and the Rhodians. In the second, Caoursin is making a speech from a wooden pulpit about the death of Sultan Mehmet II (fig. 88). The Grand Master and six dignitaries of the Order are also present, together with Rhodian citizens dressed in rich colourful garments. Both events, which were described by Caoursin

and painted by the miniaturist, appear to have taken place in the same room, which was long and narrow with a wooden ceiling. There are two windows in the narrow end wall embellished with stone tracery in the Gothic style. In the side walls of the room in fol. 83v two rectangular mullioned windows can be seen, while in fol. 87 only the left-hand one is visible, probably because the observer was positioned more to the right in the second picture. The Grand Master's wooden throne. the long narrow tapestry suspended from the ceiling behind d'Aubusson and the wall-hanging at the far end beneath the window are the same in both miniatures: the wooden benches on which the six dignitaries are seated are also the same. They have high backs, carved with Late Gothic designs, and testers. The only slight differences between the two miniatures are in the designs decorating the fabrics. hangings and benches.

It is very difficult to identify, let alone to locate the positions of the palace rooms in the miniatures in fols 3v, 83v and 87, and we must therefore resort to conjecture.

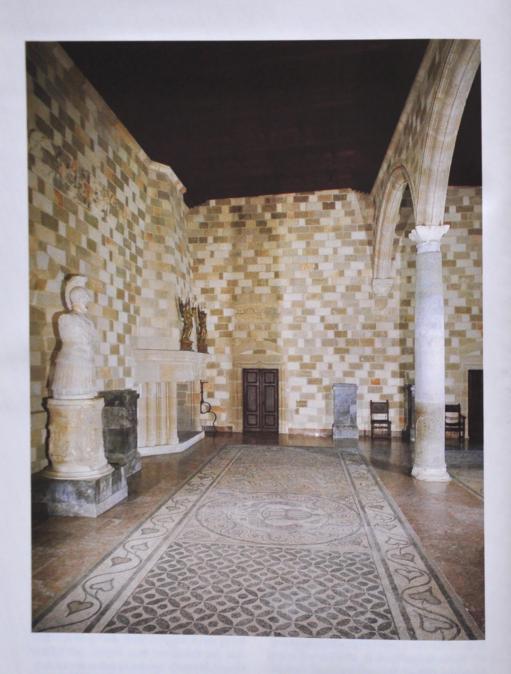
Because of its size, the room in fol. 3v (fig. 27) might be the one Bosio35 calls the "great hall of the Grand Master's Palace" (gran sala del Palagio Magistrale), in which during the last siege of Rhodes in 1522, at the celebration of the Eucharist, Grand Master Villiers de l'Isle-Adam addressed the people to bolster up their courage. We cannot, however, go further and assume that this was also the room which the same historian in another part of his book refers to as the Great Council Chamber³⁶ (gran sala del Consiglio), where in 1503 the body of Grand Master d'Aubusson was laid out for the people to pay their respects to. Bosio writes that in this room, apart from the Grand Master's bier and various objects signalling the great man's honours,

achievements and renown, some 250 persons were present. Gabriel³⁷ and Lo-jacono³⁸ believed that the hall referred to by Bosio sometimes simply as "great" and at other times as the "great Council Chamber" was one and the same.

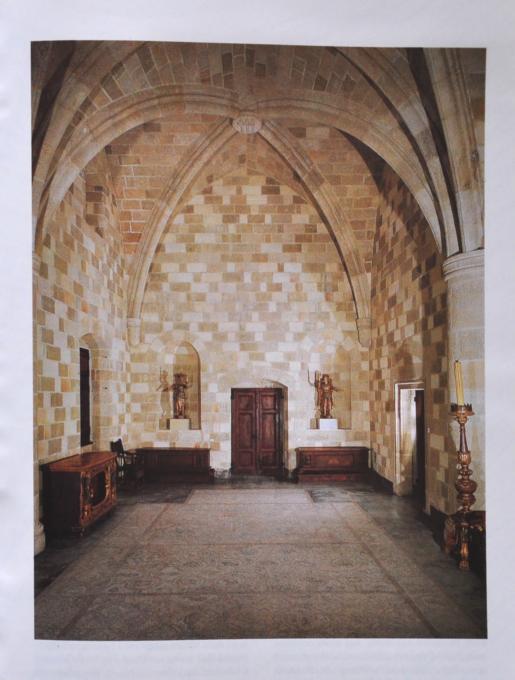
Which room do the miniatures in fols 83v (fig. 84) and 87 (fig. 88) depict? It is clear from the events taking place there that it was a place for ceremonial gatherings. Was it perhaps the great Council Chamber, having no connection with the room Bosio calls simply the great hall, or could it have been a smaller room for meetings, perhaps even official ones like those depicted in the miniatures? We cannot be sure.

It is even harder to identify the places shown in the miniatures in fols 161 and 178v. In the first, an envoy of the Ottoman prince Djem presents the Knights with a request from his master for asylum on Rhodes, and in the second, d'Aubusson receives the prince in the palace. In both cases the scenes show large chambers which differ in detail, but are both paved with tiles and have cross-vaulted ceilings supported by columns. Another room can be seen, in which the Grand Master is conferring with six dignitaries of the Order.

Fol. 22v depicts the arrest of the German, George Frappan, an expert in the construction of artillery weapons. A group of soldiers brings Mastro-Georgis, as he was known, before the Grand Master. This takes place in a small room of the palace that cannot be easily identified with any of those mentioned in the histories. The presence on the left of an open cupboard with vases probably indicates that the room was not for common use, and its small size leads us to suggest, with due reservations, that the miniature may depict one of the Grand Master's special apartments known as "Margaritae" ³⁹.



92. Grand Master's Palace. Modern hall with marble Hellenistic trophy.



93. Grand Master's Palace. Modern hall with cross-vault.

There was a chapel in the palace dedicated to St Catherine and probably also to Mary Magdalene⁴⁰. It was adorned with tapestries⁴¹ showing scenes from the lives and passions of the two saints. The chapel was famous for the holy relics preserved in it, such as a thorn from Christ's crown of martyrdom, bones from St Catherine's right hand, and others.

According to Rottiers42, the chapel was on the ground floor, west of the south gate of the palace and near the room he calls the Council Chamber (fig. 86). In it he saw Grand Master Zacosta's coat of arms, and on the outside the arms of d'Aubusson inscribed with the year 1490, but no other evidence is offered to confirm that the room this otherwise imaginative writer saw was in fact the chapel of St Catherine. He further claims that he saw the balcony from which the Grand Master followed the divine liturgy. The Italian governor's restorers rebuilt the chapel in approximately the place Rottiers indicated. Gabriel45 believed it was on the upper and not the ground floor.

In 1775 Rhodes was visited by one of the Knights of Malta, J. B. de Clandeves, who wrote a short but valuable description of the medieval city. He describes parts of the Grand Master's Palace now destroyed and lost forever, which later travellers did not notice or which did not exist for them to see. Clandeves44 says among other things that when he went up to the first floor of the palace he traversed a corridor with rooms on its right side, and that the light was coming from his left over the walls of the city. He is probably describing the west wing, which was immediately adjacent to the D'Amboise Gate. At the end, he continues, there was a balcony that overlooked the sea and surrounding country. Since he was walking northwards in the west wing, the balcony at the end,

according to his description, must have been on the northwest side of the building, roughly at the spot where the Italian restorers built a large balcony (plan IV). Gabriel⁴⁵ in his restoration of the city on paper as it probably had been in the 16th c., also put a balcony there, whose existence, however, he later came to doubt46. We wonder if this could have been the balcony indicated outside the end wall in the miniature in fol. 3 of the Caoursin codex (fig. 27). Other miniatures in the same codex, depicting the city (fig. 40) or its northwestern part (figs 85 and 95), show on the north face of the upper floor (northwest wing of the palace) three openings; they were either doors or windows, which give onto the roof of the ground-floor rooms in front of them. The roof of the ground floor at this point served as a balcony for the room or rooms on the upper floor.

On the northeast side of the courtyard, Clandeves writes that he saw a large stone stairway leading to an open balcony. In Berg's time⁴⁷ (fig. 87) the stairs and balcony still survived in reasonable condition and he drew them together with d'Aubusson's coat of arms, which was set into the front of the balcony. The stairs were later destroyed and the arcade on the ground floor supporting the balcony was filled in. The Grand Master's coat of arms, however, carved on a marble slab with the date 1494, was always visible⁴⁸. The Italians restored the ground-floor arcade and built a stone stairway and balcony (fig. 90).

The miniatures (figs 40, 85 and 95) in the Caoursin codex depicting the city also show a tall slender tower on the west side of the palace courtyard, whose exact site it is difficult to pinpoint. Lojacono⁴⁹ supposed that it was north of Rottiers' Council Chamber, in other words in the place on the ground floor now occupied by rooms

7, 8 and 8A and parts of rooms 3 and 6 (plan IV). I have many reservations about Lojacono's conjecture but no evidence to support any other location with much certainty. I can only propose in my turn that the tower was probably built on the ground floor in area 34A or 9 (plan IV). In favour of the former (34A) is the fact that although it is now inside the building, it is surrounded by a buttressed base, while the latter is close to the west gate, as depicted in the two miniatures.

We know very little about the kinds of ceilings, floors, wall decoration, furniture and other such things, whether forming part of the actual building (murals, sculptured architectural decoration, stained glass, etc.) or movable objects (furniture, curtains, pictures), which embellished the interior and exterior of the palace. Bosio tells us little, but we learn rather more from the miniatures in the Caoursin codex. The Italian restorers, although they used a great deal of marble architectural material, most of it from the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods, left no information about the condition or provenance of any of it. We do not even know whether it came from the palace itself or from elsewhere.

An examination of the Caoursin codex miniatures (figs 27, 84, 88-89) leads to the following conclusions: the ceilings of the rooms on the upper floor were as a rule of wood; heavy beams of rectangular section with corbelled ends supported flat boards; probably many of these wooden ceilings were painted with geometric designs, foliate motifs, coats of arms and human figures. We have examples of such ceilings⁵⁰ in the Great Hospital, Castellania (fig. 66), "Admiralty" and Hospice of St Catherine. Some of the rooms on the upper floor probably had barrel- or cross-vaulted ceilings. This can be de-

duced from a remark by Merri Dupuis⁵¹ that in the siege of 1480 a large Turkish cannon ball destroyed the vaulted roof of the Knight's Refectory.

The interior walls were left unplastered, even in the ceremonial rooms, so that the meticulous ashlar masonry was visible. The Caoursin miniatures show alternating rectangular poros blocks of two different colours, which relieve the otherwise uniform walls, parts of which were covered with beautiful embroidered tapestries. Grand Masters d'Aubusson and d'Amboise ordered hangings from Western Europe to decorate the palace. Some of the rooms may also have had painted murals. Rottiers⁵² writes that he saw remains of painted decoration on the walls of the Council Chamber.

Some of the windows had Late Gothic curvilinear tracery. These were glazed with small leaded diamond panes which would almost certainly have had stained glass coats of arms and human figures. Rottiers noticed Grand Master Zacosta's arms53 on the stained glass window of the chapel, and he also⁵⁴ had drawings made of the figures, heraldry, etc., decorating the windows of Our Lady of the Castle and St John of the Collachium. The floors of the rooms were paved with marble slabs or painted ceramic tiles. In the miniatures in fols 83v (fig. 84) and 108v geometric patterns, flowers and beasts can be distinguished, with a little difficulty, on the floor tiles of the two rooms. Parts of the floors on which the Grand Master sat or stood were covered with rich and beautiful carpets.

The palace furniture, as one would expect, was of equal luxury. In the miniatures can be seen wooden thrones, benches with carved wooden backs, pulpits and fine wooden cupboards containing precious vases. It was probably also embellished with

sculptures. In one case, in fol. 161, the shape of a sculpture can be discerned above a door, probably depicting a seated Virgin and Child.

Small or large fireplaces heated the rooms. The large upper-floor room which, according to Rottiers, was the audience chamber, had a large fireplace⁵⁵ with relief decoration.

The engravings of 19th c. travellers⁵⁶ depict the outside of the palace as rather austere, and so it must always have been.

The large wall surfaces were relieved by the joints of the ashlar masonry, the marble coats of arms of the Grand Masters and the sculptured mouldings surrounding the windows and accentuating the horizontal separation of the ground and upper floors. The north and west façades of the palace had very few openings in them; these were the sides directly facing the enemy and exposed to their fire. The southeast side, on the other hand, facing the Church of St John and its portico, had, according to Flandin's engravings⁵⁷ (fig. 82), large windows like those of the Inns of the Tongues and Rhodian houses of the late 15th or early 16th c.

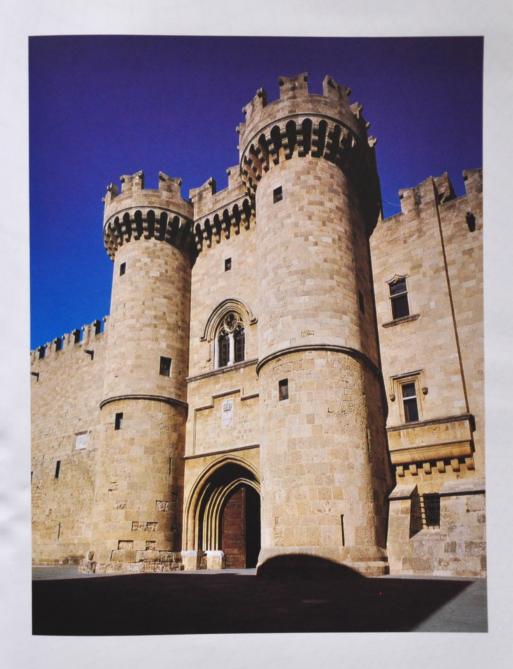
The Grand Master's Palace in the Hospitaller period had a solid, severe appearance in keeping with its role in the life of the city. It was first and foremost a citadel, the final refuge of the defenders, and secondly the seat of the Rhodian ruler.

At the beginning of 1937 the Italian governor of the Dodecanese, Cesare Maria de Vecchi⁵⁸, decided to restore the ruined Palace of the Grand Master. The study and supervision of the work, which was completed in 1940, was undertaken by Italian architect Vittorio Mesturino. The reconstruction carried out by the Italian restorers was extensive and drastic. Wish-

ing to satisfy de Vecchi's demands for a luxurious and grandiose governor's palace, they altered the ground-floor rooms, ignoring their history, and built mezzanines in the east and west wings and a top floor over the entire edifice. At the same time they demolished all the buildings around the palace, creating a large garden to the east and a large square to the south. Worst of all, however, were the deep excavations beneath the ground floor and the area south of it, which destroyed forever all the precious stratigraphy deposited there by history in the course of at least twenty-four centuries. The addition of the mezzanines and the deep excavations resulted in a much higher and more massive edifice than that of the Knights.

The palace was furnished with all the facilities available at the time to make it a pleasant and comfortable modern habitation.

The large rooms⁵⁹ (figs 92-93) on the upper floor were decorated with Hellenistic, Late Roman and Early Christian mosaic floors and statues, most of which were brought from Kos, where large-scale excavations were being carried out. The palace was furnished with Western European furniture such as chests, cupboards, candelabra, chandeliers, etc., dating from the 15th to the 19th c., most of them works of art. The walls of the large reception rooms on the upper floor were left unplastered to show the ashlar masonry. The rooms on the ground floor and mezzanine and the residential quarters were plastered, and most of them were decorated with coloured designs by the architect, V. Mesturino⁶⁰. The painter P. Gaudenzi⁶¹ decorated two large rooms on the upper floor of the north wing; these have now been made into one (room 10) and the murals destroyed. In 1940 Felice Vellan⁶² painted three vaulted rooms on the ground floor

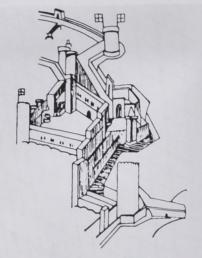


94. South gate of the Grand Master's Palace.

east of the main gate with scenes showing the "restoration" work carried out on the palace and everyday life in Rhodes between the wars. The sculptor Montoleone⁶³ also decorated rooms on the upper floor and the chapel with marble relief panels depicting scenes from the life of Christ and the saints.

The Italian restorations may not have respected the history of the place and may have catered to the megalomania of the fascist governor, de Vecchi, rather than to the demands of scholarly accuracy, but the results are nonetheless impressive and not devoid of charm. The whole building is alive with memories, which haunt its walls and rise up from its foundations and from the earth beneath them. Here it was that the Colossus, the seventh wonder of the world, may once have stood. This was the site of the Byzantine citadel, where the Byzantine governors of Rhodes must have had their seat. Here stood the palace of the Gavalas family which, for some half century, safeguarded the freedom and independence of Rhodes and most of the Dodecanese at a time when virtually all the other islands of the Aegean had fallen to the Franks. Lastly, this was the palace of the Knights of Rhodes, the palace of the Grand Master and the seat of a religious Order of Chivalry whose acclaim resounded throughout all Europe.

Rhodes, although in the Early Christian and Byzantine periods it ceased to be the powerful state and splendid city of Hellenistic times, nevertheless retained its strategic importance in the Mediterranean.



95. Grand Master's Palace (sketch by A. Gabriel: from the codex Par. lat. 6067, fol. 19v).

Under the Knights it became one of the principal gateways of Europe to the East. Together with the merchandise that entered its harbour came new ideas, new ways of life and new artistic movements. These, along with the growth of trade, industry and banking, brought a corresponding social, economic and cultural burgeoning. A great part of the Greek population, particularly in the late 15th and early 16th c., became urbanised and shared in every aspect of the Franks' way of life, preserving at the same time its own national character.

ADDENDUM

EXCERPTS FROM SOURCES

Anonymous: Alphabet of Love

8. (lines 1-8)

Did I but know, my lady, when thou wouldst arise and where thou wouldst pass with thy noble maidens, I would plant thy way with apple trees and quince and bitter orange and citron and laurel and myrtle, and thy path with rosebushes, lest the sun catch thee; and wherever thou wouldst fare and tread, I would strew musk, that thy path be scented, that thou shouldst not know it, and not blacken thy body, lissom lady, in the sun.

32. (lines 10-13)

and since thou dost ask me, I will to thee confess; the girl I kissed, on Rhodes, I left her; she sits in the starlight and the moon shines upon her she searches, my lady, and ceaselessly asks after me.

34.

Come, fair beauty, light of my eyes, let us meet the two of us and sweetly kiss and mayst thou fulfil the wish thy heart desires.

74. (lines 12-15)

Thou art a column of porphyry standing in the palace, whereon the king leans and the logothete passes judgement, portrait of Our Lady, the king's pectoral cross, and the honour of the kings and glory of the nobles.

Emmanuel Limenites of Georgillas "The Great Plague of Rhodes"

(lines 1-13)

In the year one thousand four hundred and ninety eight, death and torment, a deadly pestilence smote the isle of Rhodes and began in the month of October, and twenty months the pestilence endured, when Pierre d'Aubusson was Grand Master and Cardinal.

The throne of the metropolis of Rhodes was held by the most reverend and erudite Metrophanes, most virtuous prelate, excellent bishop.

(lines 100-107)

The noble maidens of Rhodes, of whom we spoke, had the same costume, Franks and Greeks, white were their faces and cool their necks, rosy were their cheeks and red their lips, their eyebrows etched, their eyes most lovely and their bosoms white as marble and pleasing, pale, comely, pallid with fair faces, with angel's faces.

(lines 306-319)

May he live, our lord, the head of Rhodes
and great Cardinal, Pierre d'Aubusson,
who ordained there should be prayers and fasting,
supplications and abstinence, psalmodies and litanies.
He ordained also that they (the men) should leave
their lovers and burn the backgammon boards,
the cards and the dice and cease from all games injurious to the spirit.
Justice (the courts) should assess each person's right,
welcome the person as the mother does the child,
and within a limit of three months pronounce final judgement
without bribery and injustices,
and (the citizens) should shun the enticements of the lawyers
and not give them even a florin or a ducat.

(lines 575-581)

Let him (the Rhodian) cherish his shield, sword, spear and combat,
let him glory in his arms and practice in war,
let his horses run like the wind,
let them (the Rhodians) fight with vigour and smite the dog,
the Turk, the fiend, the friend of lawlessness.

Many are the Rhodians who delight in their arms,
and foremost are our masters, may God be with them!
Many are clothed in silk, velvet and camelhair of every sort,
richly embroidered, sporting wide sleeves,
all kinds of stockings, also embroidered,
and pointed shoes, beautifully fashioned.

Document of the 5th of November 1453

In the year of our Lord 1453 November 5.

Let it be known to whosoever shall read this document that we, Fra Spilles Comendator de Vaulx-Mileu and Fra Nicolo de Coronia Comendator of Treviso and Fra Jacom de Briou, Comendator of Bordeos, being emissaries of his highness the grand master and the honourable Chapter, arrived God willing at Nisyros, and we saw and examined the five Castles of the island together with the householders and officials of the island, and we commanded them to strengthen and reinforce the above Castles that they might oppose an assault by five to six enemy ships. We also found a place to fortify so as to safeguard the inhabitants of the five Castles. This place is called Perva. There was a strong old castle there in the middle of the island.

And all the above emissaries and householders agreed and gave their word to build the above Castle and to build also the Tower and from the Tower to the corner, there where (as a rule) the battle takes place, to build the wall twelve spans thick. And to build kilns for lime and cisterns for water and (for the inhabitants of) the five Castles to fetch limestone to make lime and to gather closer to the place and quickly to make the lime (mortar), and the "good men" (the householders) to ask the lord grand master to give them a master-mason to build the Kastro.

Peace treaty between the Knights and the Turks (1451)

I, the great lord and great admiral sultan Mehmet Bey, the son of the great lord and great admiral sultan Murad Bey, swear to God on heaven and earth and by the great prophet Mohammed and the seven musafia in whom we Muslims believe and the 124,000 prophets of God and by my life and by the lives of my children.

Whereas the grand master of Rhodes J. B. de Lastic sent Petro de Chariolo as emissary to the gate of my Empire and sought to make a safe peace treaty without fraud, such as he had made with my late father, I too embrace the same peace and swear by the above oaths to have peace with the grand master of Rhodes, and to do him no injury either on land or on sea, neither I myself, nor my sanjak bey, nor my subashi, nor my servant, for the whole of my life.

/¹Io Grande Signore e Grande Admirayo Soldano Machmetbey, filio delo Grande Signore e Grande /² Admirayo Soldano Muratbey, juro per lo Dio del cel e de la terra e per lo nostro grande propheta /³ Machmet e per le sette musaphia, le qual hauemo e confessamo noy Mussolmani, e per li cento e ventiquatro /⁴ millia propheti de Dio, e per la vita mia e per la vita deli miei filioli.

Dapoy che ha mandato lo padre dela mia /5 Signoria, Io grande Maestro de Rhodi fra Johan de Lastich, Io suo ambassatore ala Porta de la Signoria mia /6 fra Petro de Ziriot, et ha dimandato hauer pace cum la mia Signoria ferma e senza dolo, secundo che /7 haueua cum lo beato mio padre, io fermo la ditta pace e zuro per li sacramenti soprascritti, che io ha- /8 uero pace cum lo padre de la mia Signoria, lo grande Maestro de Rhodo; e may non li faro alcum danno /9 ni in terra, ni in mare, ni la mia Signoria, ni lo mio sazacbey, ni lo mio subasi, ni sclauo mio in tuta la /10 vita mia.

Document of the 20th of June 1456 (1457?)

1456 20th of June

This is the document sent by the Decent people.

Right honourable, noble lord of Rhodes, worthy of every honour, grand master Jacques de Milly and Order of the Knights and most reverend Patriarch (of Aquileia: Lodovico Trevisan) delegate of the most holy Pope, we the poor, your servants the Christians, decent people who find ourselves in Turkey, small and great, men and women, kneel before your lordships.

Know, lords, that we have been troubled because of the Turks. They take our children and make Muslims of them and for this we beseech your lordships and the holy Patriarch who has come to (help) the Christians with ships of the Pope, and for this we ask the Patriarch to send his ships to take us from here together with our wives and children, because we are greatly troubled because of the Turks, because we have lost our children, to come to your country and to live and die as subjects of your authority. But if you leave us here to the Turks, our children will be lost, and you will account to God and our wrongs will be on your heads and therefore we ask your lordship and the most reverend Patriarch as quickly as possible to send the ships to take us.

May the Lord God grant you long years of life.

Written agreement of the citizens of Rhodes Greeks and Latins for the remuneration of a teacher of Latin and Greek

//1 (fol. 153r) In nomine Dominj amen. Quum sit che il Reverendissimo Monsignor /2 Gram Maestro di Rhodi, dignissimo, et sua Sacra Reiligione /3 per bene del loro populo et instructione delli figlioli delli /4 loro vassalli ad supplicatione del dicto populo habiano /5 ordinato si conduca a Rhodi uno maestro da scola, /6 il quale è reputato, persona docta et di boni costumi, et /7 si troua al presente in Famagusta, a quello hanno depu-/8 tato per suo annuo salario la summa de floreni de Rhodi 19 currenti ducento, li infrascripti anchora loro quanto /10 possano uolendo providere alla publica utilitade, et fare /11 comoditade alli figlioli delle pouere persone, si obligano /12 tutti insieme pagare al dicto maestro, ogni anno, ultra /13 la summa delli floreni ducento, delli proprij denari la /14 summa de fiorini predicti cento, per il spatio et termine de /15 dui anni, accio ciascun anno il dicto maestro habia /16 per sua merce de fiorini predicti trecento, et non possa /17 dimandare di obligatione dalli figlioli et garzoni seranno /18 mandati alla sua scola altro premio né pagamento. /19 Ma se uoranno li scolari donare, si < a > n in loro libertate.

/²⁰ Et si concorda che in aleuiatione delli infrascripti che /²¹ si habia a fare calculo et destributione sopra ciascun /²² scolaro, che andara alla dicta scola, il quale secondo /²³ il suo grado et sufficientia per la rata parte sua parti- /²⁴ cipara in la summa delli florenj antedicti cento, promessi /²⁵ dalli infrascripti, li quali deputaranno uno grato al mae- /²⁶ stro, il quale habia a destribuire et recolligere la dicta /²⁷ rata parte insieme alla dicta summa de florenj cento.

/28 Et quando non fusseno altri scolari che quelli delli infra-/29 scritti, quelli si obligano, come è dicto, per li dicti florenj /30 cento in solidum, et uogliano potere essere constretti /31 ciascuno alla sua rata parte per numero de figlioli si /32 mandaranno, et quando non mandasseno alcuno, niente /33 di manco per il spatio delli dicti duj annj, quilli che non /34 mandaranno, ciascuno pagara come si mandasse uno.

/35 Et in fede di testimonio della verità soprascripta, quelli /36 che si obligano si sono sottoscripti di sua propria mano.

/³⁷ No Leonardus, Archiepiscopus Rhodi, affirmamus suprascripta /³⁸ manu propria.

Document concerning the punishment of a resident alien of Rhodes

Rhodes, 1491, January 4th (ab incarnato Christo 1490)

A (Latin text)

(fol. $23^r = 38^r$) /¹ Die IIIJ Januarij MIIIJ-LXXXX, ab incarnatione. Fuit lecta /² in presentia Reverendissimi domini Cardinalis et Magni Magistri ac suj Reverendj Consilij /³ informacio facta super delicto per Anthonium tu Michaelj Mauro, /⁴ casalis Triande, subditum Hospitalis, in castellanum Triande, et intellecto /⁵ ac cognito ex testimonijs fidedignis, qualiter prefatus Anthonius leuauit /⁶ et apposuit manum et arripuit ex posse dictj castellanj quendam scoro /¬ nuncupatum, quem ceperat et tenebat dictus castellanus, propter delictum /⁶ quod commiserat, quia tunc non aderant clientes.

/12 Propter quod

prefatus Anthonius perdidit /¹6 omne priuilegium libertatis, quod recepit pro preterito a Religione, et precipit /¹7 atque vult, quod sit paricus sicut prius erat, et quod sit ligatus ad pillerium /¹8 in eo loco, in quo delictum commisit et in castellanum insilium fecit, et quod /¹9 percutiatur centum verberibus neruj, et ibi remaneat per terminum duarum /²0 horarum, et postea sit in carceribus per terminum duorum mensium, et /²¹ ita judicat reverendissima d(ominatio) dictj reverendissimi dominj, et illud precipit cum honorandissimo /²² Consilio, et ex precepto eius datus est prefatus Anthonius in manibus /²³ fratris Guillielmi Sestre, locumtenentis castellani Rhodj, ut faciat executionem.

B (Greek text translated)

4 January and from the incarnate dispensation of the Lord (the Annunciation) 1491. They read out before the reverend lord Cardinal and grand master of Rhodes and Chapter the interrogation held in connection with the misdeed committed by Antonis son of Michalis Mavros from the village of Trianta and attested by reliable witnesses that Antonis took the axe from the hands of the Castellan. At the time the serving brother was not there.

Accordingly

Antonis has lost every privilege of freedom that he acquired in the past and it is decided that he be a resident serf as he was formerly and that he be bound to a stake on the exact spot where he defied the Castellan and that he be given 100 strokes of the lash and that he remain bound there for two hours and afterwards that he be imprisoned for two months. This was the sentence of the grand master and the Chapter and Antonis was handed over to the noble Guillermo Sestre the deputy of the most noble Castellan of Rhodes to carry out the sentence.

Nathaniel Bertos, "Verses" (ca. 1480)

I have said and I say it again, blaspheme not, respect authority, honour the magistrates, the fair Order, the sacred Hospital, the House of St John the Baptist (which is) the First Jerusalem and New Rome

Respect ye all and honour (the Order), let none conspire against it, let none disdain it. It was God's will that they (the Knights) govern renowned and far-famed Rhodes, and therefore must we honour them all (the Knights).

Permission for the doctor Iakovos to journey to Crete to study Greek (Rhodes, 8th of May 1507)

/¹ Die VIIJ mensis Maij 1507. Cum bullarentur bulle quarundam /² prouisionum pro d(omino) f(ratre) Cola Mauro in camera reverendi domini lo- /³ cumtenentis reverendissimi domini Magni Magistri et Admirati Rhodi, idem /⁴ reverendus d(ominus) locumtenens rettulit qualiter egregius vir d(ominus) /⁵ Jacobus, medicus phisicus infirmarie Rhodi, obtinuit licenciam /⁶ a reverendissimo domino Magno Magistro eundi in Cretam studendi greca /² in lingua greca per tres aut quatuor menses, cum hoc /² quod tempore sue absentie eius stipendium ei solueretur ac si /² esset presens in Rhodo et dicta infirmaria. Quare cepit, /¹o ut dicta licencia etiam approbetur a reverendis dominis /¹¹ Consilij, qui quidem reverendi domini licenciam ipsam approbauerunt /¹² et laudauerunt cum premissis condictionibus.

In Consilio inter-/13 fuerunt reverendi d(omini) locumtenens prelibatus, r(everendus) d(ominus) Hospitalarius, /14 reverendus d(ominus) Drapperius, r(everendus) d(ominus) Turcupulerius, dominus locumtenens Marescalli /15 et locumtenens d(omini) magni Baiulivi, d(ominus) locum-/16 tenens d(omini) Thesaurarij et Preceptor dela Capella pro d(omino) locum-/17 tenente domini Magni Preceptoris

ABBREVIATIONS - BIBLIOGRAPHY

AAA Athens Annals of Archaeology

ΑΒΜΕ Αρχείον των Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος

ΑΔ Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον

AnEstM Annuario de Estudios Medievales

ASAA Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene

AStLomb Archivio Storico Lombardo

Atti Ven Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti

BA Bolletino d'Arte

BF Byzantinische Forschungen

ΒΜΤ Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Τέχνη. Κατάλογος Έκθεσης ΥΠΠΟ -

Βυζαντινό Μουσείο 26.7.85/6.1.86

BSR Papers of the British School at Rome

CR Clara Rhodos. Studi e materiali pubblicati a cura dell'Istituto storico

archeologico di Rodi

ΔΑ Δωδεκανησιακόν Αρχείον ΔΕ Δωδεκανησιακή Επιθεώρηση

ΔΙΕΕ Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας

ΔΧ Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά

EAA Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale

ΕΕΒΣ Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών

EHR English Historical Review
ΙΕΕ Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους

MAntFr Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France

M.M. F. Miklosich - I. Müller, Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et

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Νέος Ελληνομνήμων

ΠΑΑ Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών ΠΑΕ Πρακτικά της Αργαιολογικής Εταιρείας

RDAC Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus

ROL Revue d'Orient Latin

RSBN Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici

ΣΒΜΑΤ Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης

(περιλήψεις ανακοινώσεων)

ST Studi e Testi

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NOTES

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

- ¹ There is a large bibliography on the ancient history of Rhodes. Only the most important works are cited here: Torr (1885), Gelder, Volonakis, Βενετοκλής, Schmitt, Καρούζος, Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), Παπαχριστοδούλου (1989), Κωνσταντινόπουλος (1972) and Κωνσταντινόπουλος (1986).
- ² See Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 244.
- ³ Στράτος, Δ', 51; Ε', 33, 53. Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 249.
- 4 Στράτος, Ε', 33, 155.
- 5 Στράτος, Γ', 119, 123, 167, 193, 202, 203; Δ', 8.
- 6 See briefly Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 253.
- ⁷ See briefly op. cit., 255.
- 8 Σαββίδης (1987), 301-341. Idem (1981). Idem (1983).
- 9 Νυσταζοπούλου-Πελεκίδου, 164-169; 182-197.
- 10 Savvides, 203f.
- 11 Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 263. Savvides, 209f.
- 12 Le Roulx (1904), 272f.
- 13 Vertot (1726), vol. 1, 15. Le Roulx (1904), 11.
- 14 Le Roulx (1904), 23-42.
- 15 Op. cit., 43.
- 16 Op. cit., 44.
- 17 For the hard struggle of the Western Europeans to hold Syria and Palestine, and especially for the role of the Knights, see Bosio, vol. 1, 11-840. Vertot (1726), vol. 1, 26-428. Le Roulx (1904), 34-243. Bottarelli, 17-115. Δελένδας, 21-107.
- ¹⁸ Bosio, vol. 2, 1-33. Vertot (1726), vol. 1, 429f. Le Roulx (1904), 244f. Luttrell (1972), 161-171.
- ¹⁹ Bosio, vol. 2, 34-36. Vertot (1726), vol. 1, 493-500. Le Roulx (1904), 272-284. Τσιρπανλής (1967), 31-36.
- ²⁰ Le Roulx (1913), 28-50.
- ²¹ Op. cit., 12f.
- 22 Θεοτόκης, 283-289.
- 23 Le Roulx (1913), 88-95. Jorga, 38-44.
- ²⁴ Jorga, 59. Le Roulx (1913), 108. Rossi (1926), 13.
- 25 Le Roulx (1913), 125-126.
- ²⁶ Bosio, vol. 2, 103. Jorga, 286-298. Le Roulx (1913), 153-154.
- ²⁷ Le Roulx (1913), 159.
- 28 Op. cit., 284-286.
- ²⁹ Op. cit., 287-290.
- ³⁰ Χαλκοκονδύλης, Bonn edn., 1843, 97-98. Σφραντζής, Bonn edn., 1838, 63-64. Le Roulx (1913), 277-989
- 31 Bosio, vol. 2, 214-215. Vertot (1726), vol. 2, 207f.
- 32 Bosio, vol. 2, 218-219, 222-223. Riquier.
- ³³ Bosio, vol. 2, 349-350, 387. Picenardi, 170.
- ³⁴ Bosio, vol. 2, 293. Gabriel, vol. 1, 20-26.
- 35 Δούκας, Bonn edn., 1834, 319. Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 281-282.

- 36 Bosio, vol. 2, 285. Gabriel, vol. 1, 73.
- 37 Bosio, vol. 2, 335, Gabriel, vol. 1, 109.
- 38 Bosio, vol. 2, 371-373.
- 39 Op. cit., 375-376.
- 40 Op. cit., 377.
- ⁴¹ There is an extensive bibliography on the first great siege of Rhodes in 1480. Here it will be limited to those works considered to be the most important: Bosio, vol. 2, 399-426. Vertot (1726), vol. 2, 303-330. Mizzi, Le guerre, 17-88. Bottarelli, 240-248. Brockmann, 58-92.
- 42 Bosio, vol. 2, 398.
- 43 Op. cit., 432-433. Bottarelli, 253-254.
- 44 Bosio, vol. 2, 438-439. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 369-375.
- 45 Bosio, vol. 2, 430-431.
- 46 Op. cit., 436.
- 47 Op. cit., 447f. Thuasne. Pauli, 419-430. M.M., vol. 3, 317-332. Picenardi, 66-68.
- ⁴⁸ Τσιρπανλής (1968), 202-209. Idem (1991), 62.
- 49 Bosio, vol. 2, 572.
- 50 Op. cit., 584.
- 51 Op. cit., 591-592. Rossi (1926), 29-30. Bottarelli, 282-284.
- 52 Bosio, vol. 2, 594-595. Rossi (1926), 30.
- ⁵³ Bosio, vol. 2, 617.
- 54 Bottarelli, 301f.
- 55 Βακαλόπουλος, 105.
- ⁵⁶ Bosio, vol. 2, 631.
- 57 Op. cit., 632.
- 58 The bibliography on the second great siege of Rhodes in 1522 is also extensive. Only those we consider the most important works are cited here: Fontanus. Bosio, vol. 2, 639-707. Vertot (1726), vol. 2, 460-529. Rossi (1927). Mizzi, Le guerre, 119-202. Bottarelli, 305-358. Brockmann, 111-155. Βακαλόπουλος, 105-118. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 136-145.
- ⁵⁹ The number of the defenders of Rhodes in 1522 differs from writer to writer. See Bosio, vol. 2, 639-644. Bottarelli, 311 n. 14. Torr (1887), 23. Βακαλόπουλος, 107. Τσιριανλής (1991), 139.
- 60 Bosio, vol. 2, 683.
- 61 Op. cit., 689-691. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 142-143.
- 62 Bosio, vol. 2, 694.
- 63 Op. cit., 695.
- 64 Op. cit., 704.
- 65 Bosio, vol. 3, 2. See also Τσιρπανλής (1988A), 206f, where he considers the numbers exaggerated.
- 66 Τσιρπανλής (1970A), 54-64. Idem (1991), 136-145.
- 67 Bosio, vol. 3, 26f. Coronelli, 216f. Βακαλόπουλος, 119-122.
- 68 Τσιρπανλής (1988A), 206f.
- ⁶⁹ See briefly Δελένδας, 313-408.

II. THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION OF RHODES

- Ι Παπαγριστοδούλου (1972), 244.
- ² Op. cit., 245. Γρηγορίου-Ιωαννίδου, 215-216.
- 3 Ζακυθηνός, 263.
- 4 Νυσταζοπούλου-Πελεκίδου, 39, 42.
- ⁵ Malamut, 325.
- ⁶ Παπαμανώλης (1984), 103.
- 7 On this question, see Malamut, 295-364.
- 8 Σαββίδης (1987), 301-321.
- ⁹ Savvides.
- 10 Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 259-265.
- 11 Τσιρπανλής (1986B), 10-51. Savvides, 210f.

- 12 For the class of Knights, see Vertot (1772), vol. 5, 302-303. Le Roulx (1904), 290-291. Κόλλτας (1980), 291.
- ¹³ For the class of chaplains, see Vertot (1772), vol. 5, 303. Le Roulx (1904), 292-296. Κόλλιας (1980), 291.
- 14 For the class of serving brothers, see Vertot (1772), vol. 5, 303-304. Le Roulx (1904), 292. Κόλλιας (1980), 291 .
- ¹⁵ Bosio, vol. 2, 284. Bottarelli, 217-218.
- 16 Le Roulx (1904), 328-331.
- 17 Op. cit., 314.
- 18 For the office of grand commander, see Vertot (1772), vol. 5, 341. Le Roulx (1904), 332-337. Κόλλιας (1980), 292.
- ¹⁹ For the office of marshal, see Vertot (1772), vol. 5, 341-342. Κόλλιας (1980), 292.
- ²⁰ Le Roulx (1904), 350.
- ²¹ Op. cit., 350-351.
- ²² Op. cit., 351.
- ²³ Op. cit., 351-352.
- ²⁴ Vertot (1772), vol. 5, 342. Le Roulx (1904), 339-341.
- ²⁵ For the office of admiral, see Vertot (1772), vol. 5, 342. Le Roulx (1904), 343-345. Κόλλιας (1980), 292.
- ²⁶ For the office of drapier, see Le Roulx (1904), 341-342.
- 27 For the office of turcopolier, see Vertot (1772), vol. 5, 343. Le Roulx (1904), 345-346. Κόλλιας (1980), 292.
- ²⁸ For the office of τρεζουριέρης, see Le Roulx (1904), 342-343.
- 29 Op. cit., 313-327. Κόλλιας (1980), 291.
- 30 Le Roulx (1904), 314-315. Κόλλιας (1980), 291.
- 31 Le Roulx (1881), 5-24.
- 32 Picenardi, 121.
- ³³ Op. cit., 131-132.
- 34 A joint commission of Greeks and Franks decided on the demolition of churches and other buildings in the environs of the city in 1481. See Bosio, vol. 2, 431-432.
- 35 Τσοπανάκης (1970), 56. Τσιρπανλής (1986B), 36.
- 36 Σακελλίων, 115. Μ.Μ., vol. 3, 289.
- 37 Τσιρπανλής (1986B). Luttrell (1985-1986). Τσιρπανλής (1991), 149-205.
- 38 Le Roulx (1904), 302-304. Κόλλιας (1980), 291.
- ³⁹ For the office of prior, see Le Roulx (1904), 304-309. Κόλλιας (1980), 291.
- ⁴⁰ Gabriel, vol. 1, 91. Ευθυμίου-Χατζηλάκου, 315.
- ⁴¹ For the coins of the Knights and their system of coinage, see Schlumberger (1878). Also Furse. Manucci (1982). Idem (1987), Metcalf.
- 42 Κωνσταντινίδης (1968), 26-27. Idem (1970), 47.
- 43 Κωνσταντινίδης (1968), 33.
- 44 Op. cit., 113-125.
- 45 Op. cit., 40-44.
- ⁴⁶ Picenardi, 116. Κωνσταντινίδης (1968), 42. Eubel, vol. 1, 197.
- ⁴⁷ Κωνσταντινίδης (1968), 43, n. 85. Idem (1970), 21.
- 48 Ευαγγελίδης (1929), 154, 165. Κωνσταντινίδης (1968), 43-44. Idem (1970), 51.
- ⁴⁹ Acta Sanctorum (May), vol. 6, 41.
- ⁵⁰ Κωνσταντινίδης (1968), 55f.
- ⁵¹ Κωνσταντινίδης (1970), 52.
- ⁵² The metropolitan Gregory is known from a document of the Knights announcing his death and appointing electors to choose the new archbishop (Τσιρπαγλής (1991), 306).
- ⁵³ Τσιρπανλής (1991), 306-313, 378-381.
- ⁵⁴ Κωνσταντινίδης (1968), 57-60, with the earlier bibliography.
- ⁵⁵ Mercati, 132-138. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 302-303.
- ⁵⁶ Bosio, vol. 2, 345-346. Picenardi, 118-120. Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 289-290. Idem (1948). Τσιρπανλής (1991), 304-306.

- 57 Τοιρπανλής (1991), 306-309, 323-326.
- 58 Op. cit., 310-313.
- ³⁹ For the Latin bishops of Rhodes, see Le Quien, vol. 3, cols 1049-1054. Picenardi, 116-120. Eubel. Fedalto.
- 60 Κωνσταντινόπουλος (1977), 26, fig. 16.

III. ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

- ¹ Grégoire, 51, no. 135.
- ² Op. cit., 50, no. 133 bis.
- 3 Στράτος, Ε', 33, 53.
- 4 Ευθυμίου-Χατζηλάκου, 315-316.
- ⁵ Malamut, 434 n. 328, 435, 540. Zacos Veglery, no. 182.
- ⁶ AΔ 21 (1966): Χρονικά, 14. Malamut, 434.
- 7 Malamut, 600.
- ⁸ Vasiliev, vol. II, 10. Hevd, vol. 1, 118-120. Ορλάνδος, 55, n. 5.
- ⁹ Κόλλιας (1970), 518-528. Papavassiliou Archontopoulos, 309.
- 10 Ambroise, 349. Malamut, 288.
- 11 Guill. de Tyr, vol. I, 202, 255.
- 12 Malamut, 389, 406.
- 13 ΝέοςΕλλ 6 (1909), 32-38.
- 14 Malamut, 323, 425, 506.
- 15 Παπαγριστοδούλου (1951), 180-189.
- 16 Picenardi, 131.
- 17 Op. cit., 132-133. Heyd, vol. 1, 526-527. Luttrell (1959B).
- 18 Heyd, vol. 2, 345.
- 19 Luttrell (1958). Idem (1974). On the Venetian consuls in Rhodes, see Τσιρπανλής (1991), 407.
- ²⁰ Hevd, vol. 2, 687.
- ²¹ Picenardi, 133.
- ²² Hevd, vol. 1, 526-527.
- ²³ Luttrell (1959A). Idem (1961), (1962), (1966), (1970A). Also Marinescu.
- 24 Τσιρπανλής (1968), 197. Idem (1991), 51.
- ²⁵ Τσιρπανλής (1968), 199 n. 30. Idem (1991), 53 n. 2.
- 26 Τσιρπανλής (1968), 202f. Idem (1991), 55-62.
- 27 Le Roulx (1913), 224. Luttrell (1959A), 181. Τσιρπανλής (1970B), 19-20.
- ²⁸ Wagner (1874), 32-52. Legrand, 203-225.
- 29 Πάρδος, 294f.
- 30 Picenardi, 141-145. Rossi (1926).
- 31 Bosio, vol. 2, 285-286. Picenardi, 143-144. Luttrell (1975).
- 32 Picenardi, 131.
- 33 Pegolotti, 365. Heyd, vol. 2, 689.
- 34 Κόλλιας (1981B).
- 35 Rossi (1929), 340.
- 36 Hedenborg, vol. 3, 42, pl. XXXIII.
- 37 Picenardi, 147.
- 38 Gabriel, vol. 2, 22 n. 2. Enlart, pl. 162, fig. 595.
- 39 BA, 1936-1937, 147.
- 40 CR I (1928), 37-38, fig. 20.
- ⁴¹ Bosio, vol. 2, 615.
- 42 Op. cit., 105, 158-159. M.M., vol. 3, 291. Ζαχαριάδου, 193. Τσιρπανλής (1986A). Idem (1991), 149-205.
- ⁴³ Grégoire, 50, no. 133 bis. Ορλάνδος, 44, fig. 36.
- 44 Grégoire, 51, no. 135.
- 45 Βρανούση. Νυσταζοπούλου-Πελεκίδου.

- 46 Malamut, 323, 423, 506.
- 47 KAI TAYTA ΠΟΝΩΝ ΕΡΓΑ ΤΟΥ ΒΕСΤΟΥ ΒΑΡΔΑ / ΜΕΘ ΩΝ ΤΑ ΚΥΚΛΩ ΤΗС ΔΕ ΠΕΡΙΟΙΚΙ-ΔΟС (Hedenborg, Atlas, pl. XII. 9. Παπαμανώλης (1984), 103).
- 48 Papavassiliou Archontopoulos, 341.
- ⁴⁹ Τσιρπανλής (1991), 407.
- 50 Op. cit.
- ⁵¹ Τσιρπανλής (1988A), 200.
- ⁵² Τσιρπανλής (1988B), 6-7.
- ⁵⁸ Bosio, vol. 2, 253. Picenardi, 152. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 370-372.
- 54 Bosio, vol. 2, 385.
- ⁵⁵ Some of the Knights, particularly the younger ones, did not lag behind the lay citizens in revelry and frequently went about masked. This was expressly forbidden by decree in 1504; see Bosio, vol. 2, 583.
- ⁵⁶ Op. cit., 438.
- 57 Op. cit., 474.
- 58 Τσιρπανλής (1991), 368-373.
- ⁵⁹ Κόλλιας (1981A).
- 60 Picenardi, 128.
- 61 Bosio, vol. 2, 326. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 298.
- 62 See Chapter II, n. 55.
- 63 Bosio, vol. 2, 361. Mizzi, Catalogue, 34. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 299-300.
- 64 Bosio, vol. 2, 366. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 299 n. 1.
- 65 See Chapter II, n. 55.
- 66 Bosio, vol. 2, 385. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 408.
- 67 Bosio, vol. 2, 376. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 392.
- ⁶⁸ Bosio, vol. 2, 505. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 268 n. 1, 393.
- 69 Bosio, vol. 2, 522. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 229, n. 2, 231, 393.
- ⁷⁰ Bosio, vol. 2, 558. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 308 n. 1, 393.
- ⁷¹ Bosio, vol. 2, 269. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 54, 55, 392.
- 72 Bosio, vol. 2, 437. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 61-62.
- 73 Bosio, vol. 2, 476. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 392.
- ⁷⁴ Bosio, vol. 2, 702. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 307 n. 8, 308, 399, 400.
- 75 Strumza. Angel.
- ⁷⁶ Κόλλιας (1981A), 33. Angel, 6.
- ⁷⁷ Bosio, vol. 2, 564. Picenardi, 106. Strumza, 18. Angel, 17-18.
- ⁷⁸ Rhodian falcons, especially those from the districts of Lachania, Apolakkia and Kattavia were renowned throughout the medieval world for their hunting abilities. The Grand Masters sent them as gifts to rulers of Western Europe, like Louis XI of France, Philibert II, Duke of Savoy, Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, and others.
- 79 Wagner (1874), 32-52. Legrand, 203-225.
- 80 Le Roulx (1904), 341.
- 81 Le Roulx (1894), 428-429.

IV. CULTURAL LIFE AND THE ARTS

- 1 Ευαγγελίδης (1917), 36. Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 347.
- ² Ευαγγελίδης (1917), 43-50. Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 347-350.
- ³ Gautier, 38-39. Malamut, 574.
- 4 Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 350.
- 5 Σακελλίων, 95-96. Σπυρίδων. Κομίνης, 10-12.
- 6 Σπυρίδων.
- ⁷ Ευαγγελίδης (1917), 36-38. Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 257, 346-347.
- 8 Νικ. Βλεμμύδης, Διήγησις μερική, Leipzig edn., 1896, 55-62.
- ⁹ Σακελλίων, 119. Ευαγγελίδης (1917), 39.

- 10 Luttrell (1970B). Τσιρπανλής (1970B). Idem (1991), 337-340.
- 11 Luttrell (1960). Τσιρπανλής (1970B), 19-22. Idem (1991), 337-340.
- 12 Luttrell (1960), 404-407, Toronavlás (1970B),
- 13 Buondelmonti, XXI. Jacopi (1930). Τσιρπανλής (1991), 348-349.
- 14 Picenardi, 129-130. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 350-354.
- 15 Bosio, vol. 2, 431.
- 16 Picenardi, 242. Torr (1887), 99. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 353.
- 17 Picenardi, 184-185. Pasolini, Waldstein-Wartenberg (1988), 340f. Τσιριπανλής (1991), 357-359.
- 18 Τσιρπανλής (1991), 355-356.
- 19 Op. cit., 349-350.
- 20 Op. cit., 348.
- 21 Op. cit., 360.
- 22 Op. cit., 354.
- 23 Fontanus.
- 24 Picenardi, 128, 241. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 143 n. 1, 363.
- 25 Τσιρπανλής (1991), 361.
- 26 Bosio, vol. 2, 690. Τσιρπανλής (1970A), 61 n. 1.
- 27 Τσιρπανλής (1991), 363.
- 28 Op. cit., 361.
- 29 Loc. cit.
- 30 Bosio, vol. 3, 46. Picenardi, 130. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 361.
- 31 Κωνσταντινόπουλος (1977), 16, fig. 6.
- 32 Τσιρπανλής (1991), 400, 405.
- 33 Torr (1887), 102. Picenardi, 193. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 365.
- ³⁴ Rottiers, 359-360. Σάθας, 178-179.
- ³⁵ Wagner (1874), 32-52. Legrand, 203-225. Παπαχριστοδούλου (1960). Idem (1972), 355-358. Gemert. Heinrich (1986). Idem (1987). Τοιρπανλής (1991), 373-376.
- 36 Krumbacher, 560. Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 351. Τσιρπανλής (1970B), 20. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 335-337.
- 37 Wagner (1879).
- 38 Παπαγριστοδούλου (1966).
- 39 Τσιρπανλής (1991), 378-381.
- 40 Op. cit., 355.
- 41 Op. cit., 364.
- 42 Op. cit., 363.
- 43 Op. cit., 366-368.
- 44 Op. cit., 368.
- 45 Op. cit., 368-373.
- 46 Σάθας, 175. Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 364. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 376.
- ⁴⁷ Τσιρπανλής (1991), 377.
- 48 Op. cit., 377-378.
- 49 Op. cit., 381.
- 50 Loc. cit.
- 51 Loc. cit.
- 52 Πολίτης Κόλλιας, 46-47.
- 53 Τσιρπανλής (1991), 382-387.
- 54 Op. cit., 387-396.
- 55 Λάμπρος, 296-299. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 364-365.
- 56 Πολίτης Κόλλιας.
- ⁵⁷ Νικ. Βλεμμόδης, Leipzig edn., 1896, 61-62.
- 58 See n. 13.
- 59 Τσιρπανλής (1991), 396-397.
- 60 See n. 40.
- 61 Mizzi, Catalogue, 128-129. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 396-406.

- 62 Τσιρπανλής (1991), 404-405.
- 63 Op. cit., 405-406.
- 64 Op. cit., 356-357.
- 65 Mizzi, Catalogue, 117. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 393-395.
- 66 Στράτος, Ε', 33.
- 67 Στράτος, Δ', 52-53.
- 68 Θεοφάνης, Bonn edn. 1839, vol. 1, 527. Κεδρηνός, Bonn edn. 1838, vol. 1, 755. Ζωναράς, Bonn edn. 1897, vol. 3, 219.
- 69 Κόλλιας (1992). Papavassiliou Archontopoulos, 340-348.
- 70 Gabriel, vol. 1, 77-78.
- ⁷¹ Maiuri (1921A), 72. Idem (1921B), 30. Idem (1928), 45-46. Gabriel, vol. 1, 105. Inglieri 15, no. 11. Lojacono, Il Palazzo, 246, 314, etc.
- 72 Kovtής (1954), 4 n. 4. He expressed the same opinion in 1973 in the addendum to the new edition of the guide to Rhodes by Chr. Karouzos, 124.
- ⁷³ Gabriel, vol. 2, 232G.
- ⁷⁴ Θεοφάνης, vol. I, 749.
- 75 Κεδρηνός, vol. 2, 36.
- ⁷⁶ Κόλλιας (1992), 97.
- 77 See Chapter III.
- 78 Νικ. Βλεμμύδης, Leipzig edn.,1896, 62. Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 259. Σαββίδης (1983), 414-416. Idem (1987), 314f.
- ⁷⁹ Ακροπολίτης, Bonn edn., 1837, 92-95. Σκουταριώτης, Σάθας edn., 1894, 499. Ευφραίμιος Μοναχός, Bonn edn., 1840, 346-347. Σαββίδης (1983), 420. Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 259-261.
 ⁸⁰ Bosio, vol. 2, 32f. Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 271f.
- 81 Κόλλιας (1970).
- 82 Κοντής (1951).
- 83 Ciacci.
- 84 Gabriel, vol. 1, 106.
- 85 Op. cit., 107.
- 86 Op. cit., 66, 101, 107, pl. XV, 3.
- 87 Bosio, vol. 2, 85. Gabriel, vol. 1, 108 n. 2.
- 88 Δουκάκης, vol. 12, 209.
- 89 Gabriel, vol. 1, 108-109.
- 90 Op. cit., 79-90.
- 91 Op. cit., 109-111.
- ⁹² Op. cit., 98, 113, 148-149.
- 93 Luttrell (1975), 60-61.
- ⁹⁴ Gabriel, vol. 1, 97-98, pl. XIX; vol. 2, 232. Egidi, 61-69. Gerola (1930), 1020-1022.
- 95 Τσιρπανλής (1988B), 6 n. 2. Idem (1991), 225 n. 2.
- ⁹⁶ Gabriel, vol. 1, 148-149. Egidi, 69. Gerola (1930), 1022. All these scholars transcribe the name of the murator from the Librum Bullarum, 1494, fol. 131, as Antonium Lu Papa. J. Mizzi (Catalogue, 126) does the same, referring to a document of 1509 which established the master-mason Antonios in the town of Kos. Professor Z. Tsirpanlis, who has studied the document, assures me that the word Lu should undoubtedly be replaced by the word Tu (of). I thank him for the information.
- 97 Gerola (1930), 1021.
- 98 Στεριώτου, 305-306.
- ⁹⁹ Bosio, vol. 2, 393, 400, 411, 412.
- 100 Op. cit., 410.
- 101 Luzio, 109. Gerola (1930), 1023.
- 102 Gabriel, vol. 1, 115. Gerola (1930), 1024-1025.
- 103 Gerola (1914-1915), Gabriel, vol. 1, 116.
- 104 Gabriel, vol. 1, 115, Gerola (1930), 1026.
- ¹⁰⁵ Gabriel, vol. 1, 115. Gerola (1930), 1026-1027. Tadini.
- 106 Ποζιόπουλος.

- 107 Gabriel, vol. 1, 122, fig. 67.
- 108 For the architecture of the Rhodian fortifications, see Gabriel, vol. 1, 133-142.
- 109 Bosio, vol. 2, 149, 387. Picenardi, 170. Παπαχριστοδούλου (1951), 21-24. Τσοπανάκης (1987), 336-349
- 110 Gerola (1914), 339-341. Poutiers, 286-288.
- 111 Gerola (1914), 353.
- 112 Op. cit., 354.
- 113 Op. cit., 335. Poutiers, 251-253.
- 114 Gerola (1914), 336.
- 115 Op. cit., 328.
- 116 Op. cit., 322.
- 117 Op. cit., 322-323.
- 118 Op. cit., 338-339. Poutiers, 264-269.
- 119 Gerola (1914), 336-337. Παπαμανώλης (1981), 324-325. Poutiers, 253-258.
- 120 Gerola (1914), 319.
- 121 Op. cit., 351-352. Παπαμανώλης (1981), 331-332. Poutiers, 258-264. (Poutiers, 364, mentions large scale consolidation works supposedly carried out by the Archaeological Service of the Dodecanese. Poutiers did not have the discernment to distinguish work carried out before 1940).
- 122 Gerola (1914), 332-334. Poutiers, 288-290.
- 123 Gerola (1914), 324-327. Poutiers, 269-272.
- 124 Gerola (1914), 323. Poutiers, 280-283.
- 125 Gerola (1914), 328-331. Παπαμανώλης (1981), 334-337. Poutiers, 274-280 (Poutiers, 278, recently (1982-1983) identified imaginary reconstruction work).
- 126 Gerola (1914), 331.
- 127 Op. cit., 350. Παπαμανώλης (1981), 329-330. Poutiers, 284-286.
- 128 Gerola (1914), 353.
- 129 Op. cit. Poutiers, 291-294.
- 130 Bosio, vol. 2, 347. Mizzi, Catalogue, 24.
- 131 Gerola (1916), 1-4. Παπαμανώλης (1981), 340-343. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 131-132. Poutiers, 313-314.
- 132 Gerola (1916), 9-10. Poutiers, 304.
- 133 Gerola (1916), 11. Παπαμανώλης (1981), 340. Poutiers, 301.
- 134 Gerola (1916), 22-25. Παπαμανώλης (1981), 344-347. Poutiers, 314.
- 135 Gerola (1916), 24-27. Τσιρπανλής (1967). Idem (1986B), 16 and (1991), 26f. Poutiers, 313.
- 136 Gerola (1916), 31-44. Maiuri (1924), 276-289. Τσιρπανλής (1991), 103f. Poutiers, 308-312.
- 137 Gerola (1916), 56-59. Τσιρπανλής (1986B), 39-42. Poutiers, 304.
- 138 Gerola (1916), 61-66. Poutiers, 312.
- 139 Παπαμανώλης (1981), 375-384. Poutiers, 304-305.
- 140 Maiuri (1924), 290-343. Poutiers, 302-303.
- 141 Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 143. Γαλανόπουλος, 82.
- 142 Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 242. Κεδρηνός, Bonn edn., 1838, vol. 1, 522. Γαλανόπουλος, 82.
- 143 Μαλαλάς, Bonn edn., 1831, 406. Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 242-243. Γαλανόπουλος, 82.
- 144 Κοντής (1951), 232 n. 2, and Morricone, 751, believed that the settlement was limited to the area occupied by the medieval city after the earthquake of 344/45. On the contrary, Καρούζος, 6-7, and Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 230, 243, suppose that the shrinking of the settlement occurred after the earthquake of 515.
- 145 Gabriel, vol. 1, 4-5.
- 146 Gabriel, vol. 1, 5, fig. 2. Efthymiou-Hadzilacou, 106-107.
- 147 Waldstein-Wertenberg (1977), 62.
- 148 Picenardi, 1491. Ch. Buondelmonti, 27, also states that in his time, 500 "figurines of every sort" were found in a vineyard near St Anthony.
- 149 Luzio, 98. Luttrell (1986), 168-169.
- 150 Gabriel, vol. 1, 14-15.

- 151 For the different names of the northern part of the medieval city, see Picenardi, 57-58. Gabriel, vol. 1, 6-7.
- 152 Gabriel, vol. 1, 10-11.
- 153 Op. cit., 7.
- 154 Κοντής (1954), 17f.
- 155 Gabriel, vol. 1, 12 n. 1.
- 156 Op. cit., 146. Pièces justificatives, V. Κόλλιας (1992).
- 157 Wagner (1874), 49. Legrand, 222.
- 158 Wagner (1874), 37. Legrand, 208.
- 159 Gabriel, vol. 2, 147-148.
- 160 Op. cit., 11-12.
- 161 Op. cit., 128.
- 162 Op. cit., 130.
- 163 Op. cit., 130-132.
- 164 Op. cit., 132-135.
- 165 Op. cit., 135-138.
- 166 Rottiers, 239, fig. XXVIII.
- ¹⁶⁷ Gabriel, vol. 2, 148-150.
- 168 Op. cit., 150-153.
- 169 Op. cit., 154.
- 170 Op. cit., 33.
- 171 ΑΔ 23 (1968): Χρονικά, 442-443. ΑΔ 24 (1969): Χρονικά, 464-467. ΑΔ 25 (1970): Χρονικά, 577. ΑΔ 26 (1971): Χρονικά, 19, 552-555. Pallas (1977), 236-239.
- 172 ПАЕ 1960, 281, pl. 230. Pallas (1977), 239, fig. 167.
- 173 Jacopi (1931).
- 174 Παπαβασιλείου. Papavassiliou Archontopoulos, 333-337, figs 3-4.
- 175 Αρχοντόπουλος. Papavassiliou Archontopoulos, 340-345, fig. 5.
- 176 Ορλάνδος, 108-112.
- 177 Gabriel, vol. 2, 167-170. Lojacono, La Chiesa.
- 178 Βολανάκη.
- 179 Many medieval historical sources refer to the Church of St John of the Collachium: see Gabriel, vol. 2, 167-170. Lojacono, La Chiesa, 247-287.
- 180 Rottiers, 295f., pls XL, XLII, XLIII. Flandin, pls 25-26.
- ¹⁸¹ Lojacono, La Chiesa.
- 182 Op. cit., pls I-V
- ¹⁸³ Gabriel, vol. 2, 179-180. Balducci (1933).
- ¹⁸⁴ I am indebted to Professor Tsirpanlis for this information.
- ¹⁸⁵ Bacheca. Gabriel, vol. 2, 180-182.
- ¹⁸⁶ Gabriel, vol. 2, 199-202. Ορλάνδος, 62-66.
- ¹⁸⁷ Gabriel, vol. 2, 190-198. Ορλάνδος, 85-98.
- ¹⁸⁸ Βοκοτόπουλος, 107-108.
- 189 Ορλάνδος, 85-98.
- 190 Κόλλιας (1986), 15-16.
- ¹⁹¹ Gabriel, vol. 2, 170-174. Ορλάνδος, 72-76. Αχειμάστου-Ποταμιάνου.
- 192 Παπαβασιλείου. Papavassiliou Archontopoulos, 333-337.
- 193 Gabriel, vol. 2, 188.
- 194 Ορλάνδος, 80.
- 195 Vertot (1726), vol. 2, 599.
- 196 Gabriel, vol. 1, fig. 2.
- 197 Martoni, 584.
- ¹⁹⁸ Gabriel, vol. 1, 15.
- 199 Mizzi, Catalogue, 46. Professor Tsirpanlis, who consulted the same document (National Library of Malta - Arch. no. 76, Libri Conciliorum (1478-1488, 62v), corrected some of the church names for me.

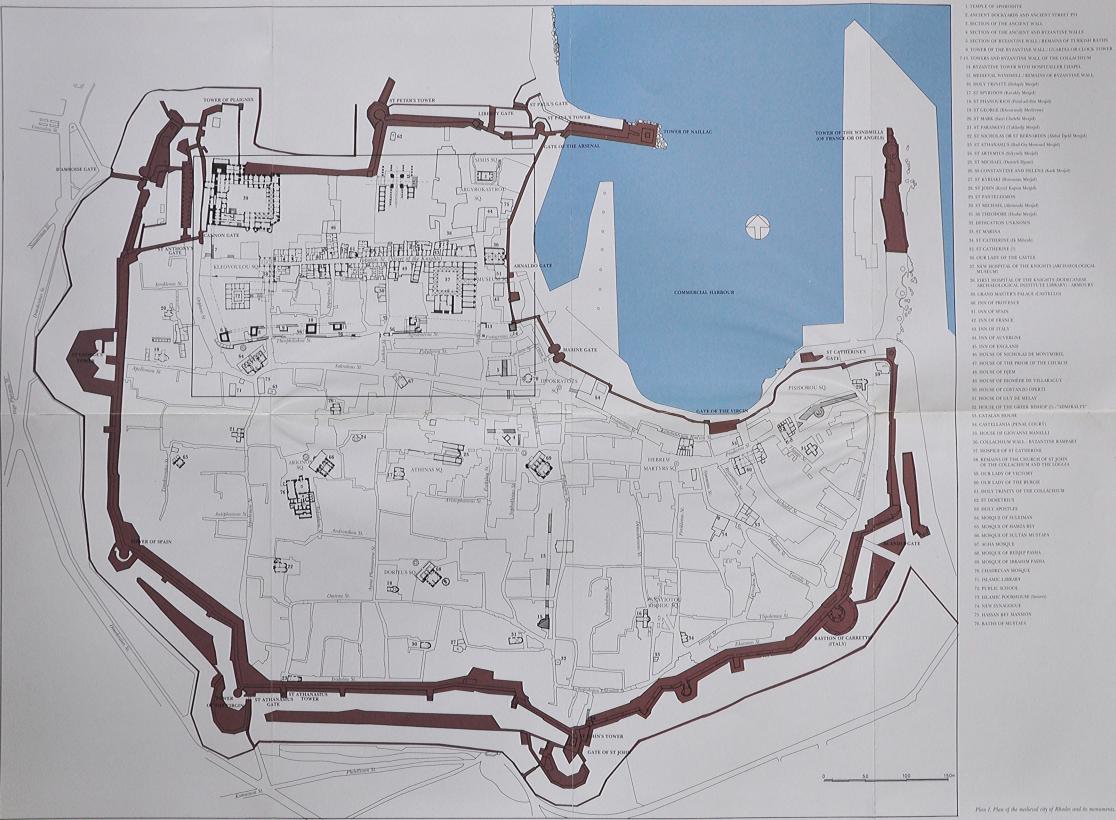
- 200 Bosio, vol. 2, 431-432.
- 201 Martoni, 585. Gabriel, vol. 1, 14-15; vol. 2, 211.
- 202 Bosio, vol. 2, 429-435.
- 203 Op. cit., 251-252.
- 204 Τσιρπανλής (1970A), 15-16, 32-33. Idem (1991), 259, 271.
- 205 Τοιρπανλής (1970A), 15-16, 32-33. Idem (1991), 259, 271.
- 206 Picenardi, 162-163, Τσιρησγλής (1988A).
- 207 Bosio, vol. 2, 399, 413, 432, 697-698.
- 208 Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 300.
- 209 Op. cit., 395. Ευαγγελίδης (1929), 161.
- 210 Picenardi, 162.
- 211 Bosio, vol. 2, 656.
- 212 Rottiers, 341, pls L-LII.
- 213 Buondelmonti, 26.
- 214 Picenardi, 153-154.
- 215 Buondelmonti, 26.
- 216 Picenardi, 157.
- 217 Bosio, vol. 2, 668. Picenardi, 161.
- 218 Buondelmonti, 26.
- 219 Bosio, vol. 2, 685.
- ²²⁰ Buondelmonti, 26.
- 221 Παπαχριστοδούλου (1972), 353 n. 4.
- 222 Τσιρπανλής (1970A), 20. Idem (1991), 262, 307.
- 223 Τσιρπανλής (1991), 306.
- 224 Op. cit., 307.
- 225 Loc. cit.
- 226 Loc. cit.
- 227 Op. cit., 207 n. 1.
- 228 Op. cit., 309.
- 229 Τσιρπανλής (1988Α).
- 230 Κόλλιας (1986), 6-7.
- 231 Χατζηδάκης, 380-390.
- 232 Pallas (1986), 174.
- 233 ΑΔ 21 (1966): Χρονικά, 37, 438, pls 49, 51. ΑΔ 22 (1967): Χρονικά, 31, pl. 57. ΑΔ 27 (1972):
- Χρονικά, 690, pl. 641α.
- ²³⁴ Παπαβασιλείου, 65. Papavassiliou Archontopoulos, 335-336.
- ²³⁵ Αργοντόπουλος. Papavassiliou Archontopoulos, 340-342.
- ²³⁶ Picenardi, 215-217. Buhagiar (1989), 20-23. Celle.
- ²³⁷ Buhagiar (1987), 34-36. Τσιρπανλής (1988). Buhagiar (1989), 18.
- 238 Celle, fig. 11.
- ²³⁹ Picenardi, 162-163. Buhagiar (1987), 36. Τσιρπανλής (1988). Buhagiar (1989), 19-20.
- ²⁴⁰ Ορλάνδος, 114-142.
- 241 Brandi.
- 242 Ορλάνδος, 173.
- ²⁴³ Αγειμάστου-Ποταμιάνου, 267-268, pl. 119.
- 244 Rottiers, 238, pl. XVIII.
- ²⁴⁵ Bosio, vol. 2, 513. Picenardi, 77.
- 246 Picenardi, 77-78.
- 247 Rottiers, pls XXXVII, XLII, XLIII.
- ²⁴⁸ Bosio, vol. 2, 349. Picenardi, 89-93.
- 249 Bosio, vol. 2, 598-599.
- 250 Κόλλιας (1988).
- 251 Ορλάνδος, 164-173.
- 252 Op. cit., 142-156.

- ²⁵³ BMT, 78-79. Αχειμάστου, 62.
- 254 BMT, 79-82.
- 255 Αχειμάστου, 62f. BMT, 77-78.
- 256 Αγειμάστου-Ποταμιάνου, 263-278.
- 257 Κόλλιας (1986).
- 258 Op. cit., 213-216.
- ²⁵⁹ Gabriel, vol. 1, 66-67. Κόλλιας (1986), 216-218.
- ²⁶⁰ Κόλλιας (1986), 211-213.
- 261 Loc. cit.
- ²⁶² Rottiers, pls LXI-LXVI. Schlumberger (1911), 211f, fig. 1, pls XXI-XXII. Celle.
- ²⁶³ Κόλλιας (1986), 218-221.
- 264 Op. cit., 221-225.
- ²⁶⁵ Chatzidakis (1973). Idem (1974A) and (1974B). Κόλλιας (1986), 227f.
- ²⁶⁶ Κόλλιας (1986), 234f.
- ²⁶⁷ Op. cit., 75, figs 35-37.
- ²⁶⁸ Op. cit., 211-226, 237-244. Chatzidakis (1969), 183f. Idem (1974A), (1973), 674f and (1974B),
- 72f. Χατζηδάκη, 9-15. Papageorgiou, 217f.
- 269 Κόλλιας (1986), 247.
- ²⁷⁰ Ορλάνδος, 19-20, fig. 15.
- ²⁷¹ Op. cit., 50-52, figs 44-46.
- 272 Op. cit., 32.
- ²⁷³ Vemi, 23, 35, 42, 45, 215.
- ²⁷⁴ Bovini.
- ²⁷⁵ Ορλάνδος, 220-221, figs 166-167.
- ²⁷⁶ Gabriel, vol. 1, 95, no. 22. Jacopi (1932), 52, fig. 34. Lange, 133, fig. 58.
- ²⁷⁷ Gabriel, vol. 1, 46, pl. XXVIII, 4. Jacopi (1932), 57, fig. 35. Lange, 133, fig. 59.
- ²⁷⁸ Gabriel, vol. 1, pl. XXIX, 1. Jacopi (1932), 53, fig. 33. Lange, 133, fig. 57.
- ²⁷⁹ Gerola (1921), fig. 3.
- ²⁸⁰ Jacopi (1932), 41-43, figs 26-27, pl. VI.
- ²⁸¹ Gabriel, vol. 1, pl. XXVIII, 1.
- ²⁸² Op. cit., pl. XXVIII, 3.
- ²⁸³ Κωνσταντινόπουλος (1977), 29, fig. 21.
- 284 Op. cit., 19, fig. 9.
- ²⁸⁵ Jacopi (1932), 49-50, fig. 32. Κωνσταντινόπουλος (1977), 16, fig. 7.
- ²⁸⁶ Balducci (1931), 10-13, figs 4-5, pl. I.
- ²⁸⁷ Op. cit., 13-14, fig. 5, pl. II.
- ²⁸⁸ Op. cit., 14-24, figs 6-7, pls III-V.
- ²⁸⁹ Gabriel, vol. 1, 28, pl. VI, 2.

V. THE PALACE OF THE GRAND MASTER

- ¹ Gabriel, vol. 1, 8, 76-77.
- 2 Βολανάκη.
- ³ Rottiers, 149-152.
- ⁴ Guerin, 131-133.
- ⁵ Biliotti Cottret, 509-510.
- ⁶ Belabre, 101-103.
- ⁷ Rottiers, pls XIII, XVIII-XIX.
- ⁸ Flandin, pls 10, 21, 22-24.
- ⁹ Berg, pls 29-30.
- 10 Gabriel, vol. 2, 5-12.
- 11 Lojacono, Il palazzo.
- 12 Op. cit., pl. I.
- 13 Flandin, pl. 23.

- 14 Rottiers, pl. XIII. 15 Flandin, pls 10, 24.
- 16 For the Caoursin codex, see Chapter IV.
- 17 Lojacono, Il palazzo, 306, 322f.
- 18 Op. cit., 306, 322.
- 19 Biliotti Cottret, 503.
- 20 Dupuis, 604. Gabriel, vol. 1, 77. Lojacono, Il palazzo, 316.
- 21 Gabriel, vol. 1, 76; vol. 2, 10. Lojacono, Il palazzo, 314, pls I-IV, IX.
- 22 Lojacono, Il Palazzo, 344f, pl. I.
- ²³ Rottiers, 299, pl. XLI. Gerola (1921), 11, pl. LXXVII, 8. Lojacono, La Chiesa, 268.
- 24 Gabriel, vol. 2, 7 n. 4.
- ²⁵ This legend survived until at least the end of the 18th c., because the French consul in Rhodes,
- C. Butet, mentions among other things that enough food for 12,000 people for one year could be stored in these underground rooms (Ευθυμίου-Χατζηλάκου, 315).
- ²⁶ Biliotti Cottret, 510. Picenardi, 76. Gabriel, vol. 2, 7. Ευθυμίου-Χατζηλάκου, 315.
- 27 Rottiers, 150, pl. XVIII.
- 28 Biliotti Cottret, 510.
- ²⁹ Dupuis, 602.
- 30 Bosio, vol. 2, 459, 706. Picenardi, 78.
- 31 Bosio, vol. 2, 459.
- 32 Dupuis, 604.
- 33 Bosio, vol. 2, 706.
- 34 Unpublished.
- 35 Bosio, vol. 2, 648.
- 36 Op. cit., 567. Picenardi, 78.
- ³⁷ Gabriel, vol. 2, 8 n. 5.
- 38 Lojacono, Il Palazzo, 296.
- ³⁹ Bosio, vol. 2, 566. Picenardi, 78. Lojacono, Il palazzo, 295.
- ⁴⁰ Bosio, vol. 2, 363, 385, 485. Picenardi, 80. Gabriel, vol. 2, 8.
- 41 Bosio, vol. 3, 111. Picenardi, 80.
- ⁴² Rottiers, 150-151, pl. XVIII.
- ⁴³ Gabriel, vol. 2, 8.
- 44 Rossi (1931), 7.
- 45 Gabriel, vol. 1, fig. 7.
- ⁴⁶ Gabriel, vol. 2, 11 n. 1.
- ⁴⁷ Berg, pl. 29.
- ⁴⁸ Lojacono, Il Palazzo, fig. 8.
- ⁴⁹ Op. cit., 331f., pl. III.
- ⁵⁰ Gabriel, vol. 2, 141-142.
- ⁵¹ Dupuis, 602.
- ⁵² Rottiers, 151.
- 53 Loc. cit.
- 54 Op. cit., pl. XXXVII.
- 55 Rottiers, pl. XVIII. Belabre, 103.
- ⁵⁶ Rottiers, pl. XIII. Flandin, pls 10, 24.
- 57 Flandin, pls 21-22.
- 58 Mesturino, 39.
- 59 Op. cit., 42f.
- 60 Op. cit., 68.
- 61 Op. cit., 63.
- 62 Op. cit., 68.
- 63 Op. cit., 48, 65.

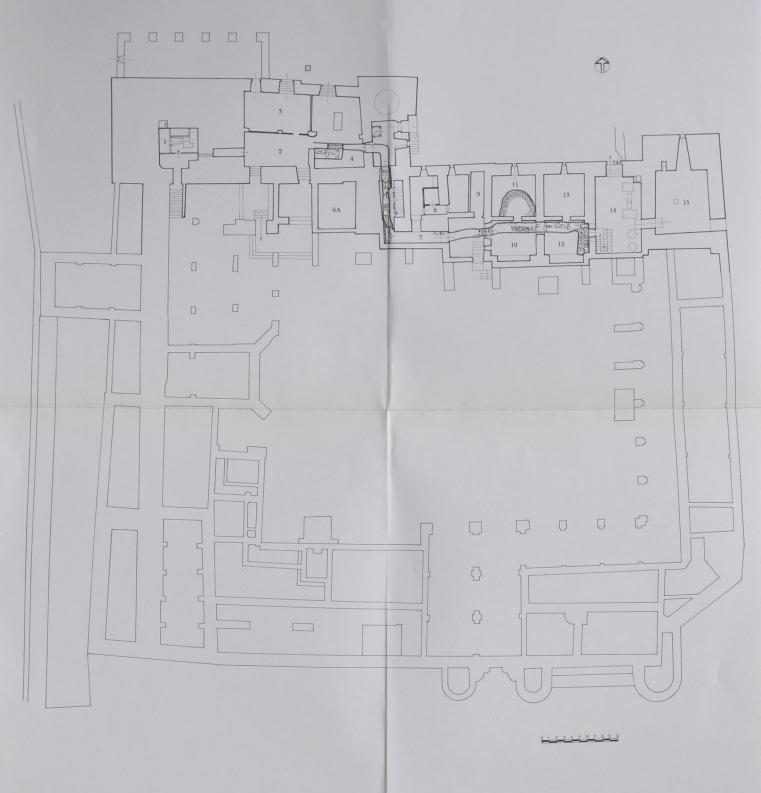


Plan I. Plan of the medieval city of Rhodes and its monuments.



1. TEMPLE OF APHRODITE

- 2. ANCIENT DOCKYARDS AND ANCIENT STREET P31
- 5. SECTION OF BYZANTINE WALL / REMAINS OF TURKISH BATHS
- 6. TOWER OF THE BYZANTINE WALL / GUARDIA OR CLOCK TOWER
- 7-13. TOWERS AND BYZANTINE WALL OF THE COLLACHIUM
- 14. BYZANTINE TOWER WITH HOSPITALLER CHAPEL
- 36. OUR LADY OF THE CASTLE
- 37. NEW HOSPITAL OF THE KNIGHTS (ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM)
- 38. FIRST HOSPITAL OF THE KNIGHTS (DODECANESE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE LIBRARY) - ARMOURY
- 39. GRAND MASTER'S PALACE (CASTELLO)
- 40. INN OF PROVENCE
- 41. INN OF SPAIN
- 42. INN OF FRANCE
- 43. INN OF ITALY
- 44. INN OF AUVERGNE
- 45. INN OF ENGLAND
- 46. HOUSE OF NICHOLAS DE MONTMIREL
- 47. HOUSE OF THE PRIOR OF THE CHURCH
- 48. HOUSE OF DJEM
- 49. HOUSE OF DIOMÈDE DE VILLARAGUT
- 50. HOUSE OF COSTANZO OPERTI
- 51. HOUSE OF GUY DE MELAY
- 56. COLLACHIUM WALL BYZANTINE RAMPART
- 58. REMAINS OF THE CHURCH OF ST JOHN OF THE COLLACHIUM AND THE LOGGIA
- 61. HOLY TRINITY OF THE COLLACHIUM
- 63. HOLY APOSTLES
- 64. MOSQUE OF SULEIMAN
- 67. AGHA MOSQUE
- 71. ISLAMIC LIBRARY
- 72. PUBLIC SCHOOL
- 73. ISLAMIC POORHOUSE (Imaret)
- 75. HASSAN BEY MANSION



 $Plan\ III.\ Grand\ Master's\ Palace.\ Plan\ of\ the\ basement\ with\ the\ remains\ of\ the\ Byzantine\ wall\ uncovered\ by\ the\ 1988\ excavation.$

